

ADAPTING THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE PERSPECTIVES COURSE
INTO PARTICULAR GLOBAL CONTEXTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACMC	Advancing Churches in Mission Commitment
COMIBAM	<i>Cooperacion Misionera Iberoamericana</i>
CRESR	Consultation on the Relationship between Evangelism and Social Responsibility
ECC	Executive Coordinators Council
EFMA	Evangelical Foreign Mission Association
EMQ	Evangelical Missions Quarterly
GCOWE	Global Consultation on World Evangelization
IFMA	Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association
IIS	Institute of International Studies
NAM	North Africa Mission
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship
SCOWE	Student Conference on World Evangelization
SIIS	Summer Institute of International Studies
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement
SWM	School of World Mission
TEE	Theological Education by Extension
USCWM	U.S. Center for World Mission
UWE	Understanding World Evangelization
WEA	World Evangelical Alliance
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

ABSTRACT

This thesis-project examines why and how the Historical Section of the popular mission mobilization course, *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*, should be adapted and contextualized as the course is translated for audiences outside of North America. The thesis begins by tracing the history of the Perspectives course itself, focusing on the cultural and missiological environment that influenced the creation and content of the course, and the initial internationalization of the course.

The project is a guide for developers of the Perspectives Study Program to aid them in adapting the Historical Section into their particular cultural contexts. To serve as a resource for the international program developers, an annotated bibliography is included of English-language books on the history of missions to and evangelization of each region of the world, excluding Western Europe and North America. The project, a guide entitled, *Adapting the Historical Section for Non-American Contexts*, was distributed to international Perspectives program developers for review. Conclusions are drawn from the evaluation of the guide by Perspectives developers and from the lessons learned through the adaptation process.

CHAPTER 1

THE NEED TO CONTEXTUALIZE THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE PERSPECTIVES COURSE FOR GLOBAL AUDIENCES

Launched in 1974, the *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* course has transformed the lives of tens of thousands of North Americans over the past three-and-a-half decades, and untold thousands more across the globe. In addition to the more than one-hundred thousand who have taken the Perspectives course, or derivatives of the Perspectives course, thousands more have used the *Perspectives Reader* as a textbook in college and seminary classes. There is no way to calculate the additional hundreds of thousands of lives that have been influenced by those who have studied the Perspectives material and embraced the call and promise of God for world evangelization.

The Perspectives course was originally created by Dr. Ralph Winter for a North American audience (the course preceded by two years the founding of the U.S. Center for World Mission, which assumed ownership of Perspectives). It was not long before Perspectives began to make its way into other global contexts and requests ensued to have the course translated into other languages. At first translations or adaptations to other cultures were made with little or no input from the U.S. Center for World Mission staff. Eventually demand for global editions increased to the point that a Global Perspectives Service Office was established. The goal was to encourage not simply translations of the North American edition of the Perspectives text, but adaptation into the receiving culture and language.

From the perspective of language, a simple translation from the English is not usually adequate. Idioms, ideas, parables and even presentation of content are culture-bound, not often transferable into another culture without some adjustment. Authors frequently reference people, stories, historical events, and popular culture that is not known or understood outside of the author's culture. However, in a day of globalization and global media, this is not as significant a problem as previously.

From the perspective of educational pedagogy, the Perspectives course needs to be contextualized within each culture to be in keeping with the way that culture learns. This is not a static process. If there is one thing rapid technological advances have taught us it is that the world is changing in the means and methods of learning. Globalization is also impacting modes of learning, making them more similar than diverse, especially in urban educated environments.

Perspectives assumes a certain level of education of its students. The course was originally created for university students; even though the Perspectives audience in America is now predominately church lay people, the minimum of a high-school reading level is generally needed for comprehension of the text. This will also be true in other cultures in which Perspectives is offered.

From the perspective of content, most of the content of the Perspectives course may be suitably transferred into another culture. Today's global church has the unique-in-history opportunity to share concepts, insight and ideas with one another and learn from one another across multiple cultures concurrently. Increasingly since the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference, and most especially in the last few decades, the Body of Christ worldwide has entered into a global discussion of biblical, theological,

ecclesiological and missiological principles. The Perspectives course contributes to and reflects that discussion. The most recent (fourth) edition of the Perspectives text includes a number of non-Western voices, signifying both the need for American audiences to hear from the majority-world church and that the Perspectives course itself is being internationalized.

Although the majority of the Perspectives course content is suitable for translation (with adaptation) and dissemination into other cultures, the Historical Section of the course calls for greater contextualization. In order to connect to the hearts of the students, the Historical Section must adequately reflect and connect the local historical record of mission among the student's own people and region with the larger historical record of the worldwide expansion of the Christian faith.

The Historical Section in the current edition of the Perspectives text is an improvement over the content of that section in earlier editions. Previously, the Historical Section tracked the spread of the gospel in a westward-only direction flowing from the Roman Empire and Europe and then America. Mission from the Eastern churches, both Eastern Orthodox and Syrian/Nestorian was missing altogether. An article was added in the fourth edition to fill in the flow of the gospel eastward; however, Orthodox mission remains absent. Dr. Ralph Winter rewrote his well-known article on the "Three Eras of Protestant Mission" to emphasize his latter thinking on Kingdom missiology, yet in doing so, his article became more American and confusing to those of other cultures. Some of the older articles that were retained have a clear Western-oriented, or even American-specific outlook, such as David Howard's article on student mission movements. On the other hand, several articles by non-Western authors were added describing the most

recent historical development and a natural result of the “Three Eras”—that of a surging non-Western mission force and sending base. That is a good addition for any language edition, but not sufficient for non-American contexts. The goals of the Perspectives course are better accomplished if each language or nation-specific course has both a well-rounded global overview of the history of the expansion of Christianity and a local and regional overview with, if possible, stories of and from their people.

The goal and intended outcomes should remain the same throughout all language editions. The basic theology and missiology and core ideas must remain the same to be true to the Perspectives identity. For that reason, some articles could and should be reproduced within all language editions. But other articles in the North American edition need to be replaced by articles reflecting the language, culture and history of the target audience. Finding, choosing and possibly commissioning the writing of such articles that fit the educational design and missiological perspective of the Perspectives course is the challenge faced by global Perspectives program developers.

As the key component of this thesis-project I wrote a document designed to guide and assist the global developers in this task. I also engaged in bibliographic research of English-language resources that can support and aid them in their work. As the non-Western church has matured in theological and missiological reflection and participated in the global conversation within the Body of Christ, more and more non-Western authors are recognizing the need to uncover and record their Christian history through their cultural lenses. Their writings will serve to enrich our knowledge of God’s work among the world’s peoples throughout history and provide resources for the contextualization of Perspectives’ Historical Section.

The second chapter of this thesis-project will recount some of the history of the Perspectives course itself, emphasizing the social, theological and missiological ferment that influenced the development and content of the course. The next chapter contains bibliographic research on the historical expansion of the world Christian movement. The fourth chapter is the project itself, a guide for global developers for adapting the Historical Section of the Perspectives course into their particular context. A survey was distributed to global Perspectives course developers to evaluate the suitability and effectiveness of the adaptation guide. The final chapter of this thesis-project presents a summary their evaluation, lessons learned and potential outcomes as a result of this study project.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL, THEOLOGICAL AND MISSIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE PERSPECTIVES COURSE

The *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* course is a mission mobilization tool to raise awareness and educate the church on the biblical basis of mission, the activity of God throughout history to fulfill His purpose of an evangelized world, the current status of world evangelization, understanding of culture and cross-cultural communication, and strategic methods being used to most effectively reach the nations. Perspectives has been characterized as “mission mobilization by education.” The course is not intended to recruit or train missionaries, but designed to mobilize the church into active participation in the fulfillment of the Great Commission. Although the vast majority of Perspectives students are church lay people taking the fifteen-week course at a certificate level, the educational design of the course extends to graduate level.

Dr. Ralph Winter, the originator of the Perspectives course, used to say that Perspectives joined a movement of God that was already in progress. To elucidate Winter’s observation, the first part of this chapter will present an historical overview of the major trends in American culture and in missions leading up to the mid-seventies. The next section will narrate the early development of the Perspectives course, up through 1981 with the publication of the first *Perspectives Reader and Study Guide*. The Perspectives course not only joined a movement of God, but itself became a movement, contributing to and accelerating major mission trends. Therefore the third subdivision will highlight developments in world missions during the 1980s. The fourth and fifth

sections will continue the story of the expansion and development of the Perspectives course into the twenty-first century, including escalating world-wide reach. The conclusion of this chapter includes my own personal reflections having been integrally involved in the Perspectives movement over the past twenty years.

The Historical Context

The day of the missionary is over. We have completed the missionary task; all that remains is local evangelism by the national church. Or so went the thinking of much of the Christian church as the 1960s came to a close. The celebrated fact of the time was the recognition of the “younger churches”—those planted by earlier mission efforts—on every continent and in almost every country. This led many to believe that Christ’s Great Commission was fulfilled and all that remained was a mop-up job by the national churches within each country.¹ Furthering this popular belief was a call by some in the “younger churches of the Third World,” as they were then called, for a moratorium on missions.²

Global Realignments

What occasioned this sentiment in both the non-Western and Western churches that the missionary vocation was no longer welcome or appropriate? A principal answer

¹ Donald A. McGavran, “Introducing Crucial Issues in Missions,” in *Crucial Dimensions in World Evangelization*, ed. Arthur F. Glasser, Paul G. Hiebert, C. Peter Wagner and Ralph D. Winter (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), 169-170.

² David M. Howard, “Editorial: A Moratorium on Missions?” *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, January 1975, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-209/1111>.

lies in one of the most massive global political realignments in history. In his remarkable essay, *The Twenty-Five Unbelievable Years, 1945-1969*³, missiologist Ralph Winter recounts how rapidly the world shifted from a colonial-dominated landscape to a vast array of newly-independent nations. By the cessation of World War II in 1945, Europeans had virtual control over 99.5 percent of the non-Western world. In an astonishingly brief twenty-five year period, Western nations had lost control over all but five percent of the non-Western population of the world. In a tide of rising nationalism missionary presence was often equated with colonial rule; therefore, in the minds of many in both the non-West and the West, as one form of Western dominance was shed, so should be the other.

Such rapid change brought with it unrest, resulting in regional conflicts. Many newly-independent nations became ruled by authoritarian governments, often embracing Marxism and coming under the shadow of the Soviet Union. The long war in Vietnam raged as America sought unsuccessfully to push back the communist forces in Southeast Asia. Coming on the heels of the recent harsh repressions of Chairman Mao in China, there was a sense that communism was winning the Cold War.⁴

Not only did communism seem to be gaining ground, in the West Christianity seemed to be losing ground. In American society the Vietnam War fed the youth revolt of the sixties, fostering anger and disillusionment with “the establishment.” American

³ Ralph D. Winter, *The Twenty-Five Unbelievable Years, 1945-1969* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970).

⁴ Winston Crawley, *World Christianity: 1970-2000* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001), 10-12.

Christians watched hopelessly as a whole generation dropped out into an alternative culture of drugs, “free love” and rock music. David Howard, InterVarsity director of the Urbana student mission conventions in the early seventies commented that “the student world of the 1960s was marked by activism, violent upheavals, and negative attitudes. The anti-government, anti-establishment, anti-family, anti-church attitudes were also expressed in anti-mission reactions. Seldom have missions been looked upon with less favor by students than during that decade.”⁵

Societal Trends

Secularism replaced the Judeo-Christian worldview in American media, government and educational systems. What could not be proved by science was considered a private belief system and little by little was extracted from the public square. Major denominations and seminaries undermined belief in the supernatural, including the resurrection of Jesus in their interpretation of scripture, de-mythologizing the Bible into something “modern man” can accept. Salvation takes on a whole new meaning when the immortal soul is dismissed. Indeed, the very meaning of salvation was the theme of the World Council of Churches’ Bangkok assembly in 1973. They defined salvation primarily in this-worldly terms as a struggle for economic justice and human dignity against exploitation and oppression, solidarity with the marginalized poor and hope

⁵ David M. Howard, "The Road to Urbana and Beyond," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, January 1985, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-237/1320>.

against despair.⁶ The purpose and goal of mission accordingly turns upon the definition of salvation.

Simultaneously in Catholic circles salvation began to be equated with socio-political liberation. Arising out of Latin America and emerging from the reforms of Vatican II (1962-1965), liberation theology focused the mission efforts of the church on working for political and economic liberation for the oppressed and marginalized masses, even if it meant revolution. Liberation theology overflowed its geographical and ecclesiastical boundaries, becoming both a popular and controversial theological approach to missions in the 1970s. Many liberal denominations embraced it while most evangelical denominations condemned it, especially for its Marxist-leanings.⁷

Alongside secularism, another societal trend in the early seventies was the rising tide of pluralism. The world was shrinking due to astounding advances in technology. International travel, international trade, global telecommunications and massive immigration into burgeoning cosmopolitan cities all combined to heighten international awareness and intercultural contacts. Beginning in the 1950s, secularization and massive immigration started to erode the Christian percentage of America.⁸ Familiarity with those of other religions made it harder to conceive in the damnation of an acquaintance for holding a non-Christian belief system. The plurality of religions and the outworking of

⁶ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 396-397.

⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 432-442.

⁸ David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Trends, AD 30 - AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001), 330.

secularism produced a relativism of truth. Writing in 1976, missiologist Donald McGavran described the current environment:

It is unpopular today to think in terms of one true religion and the others all false, for men tend to believe that each people has a right to its own ideas of God and its own religion. . . . As anthropologists explore the complexities of various cultures, many conclude that all cultures are equally good and bad. Cultures are merely ways of acting which please certain men. It is, so some anthropologists teach, immoral to try to change the glorious culture of any ethnic unit. . . . Since the world view—or religion—is part of culture, a vast religious relativity billows out behind the science of anthropology.⁹

Religious pluralism and relativism obviously have disastrous consequences for missions and evangelism. Why preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to others if it is not ultimate truth and they are “saved” through their own religion anyway?

Negative View of Missions

The combination of these and other factors—a collective guilty conscience over colonialism, rapid moral degeneration, alluring materialism, the struggle for racial equality, shocking political assassinations—permeated the American church at the turn of the decade with a spirit of negativism and despair.

Ralph Winter reflects on those days:

I wrote a book in 1969 called the *Twenty-Five Unbelievable Years*. The title of every chapter was negative on the grounds that I did not think it would arouse interest if it took an optimistic approach. That is how bad the negativism was in popular Christian culture at the time. That’s why McGavran’s famous lecture, “The Sunrise (not the sunset) of Missions” was so shocking to so many people.¹⁰

⁹ McGavran, “Crucial Issues,” 166.

¹⁰ Ralph D. Winter, interview by author, Pasadena, CA, June 20, 2005.

A common question was, "Is there a future for the missionary enterprise?" The seminaries of liberal denominations were terminating their mission programs.¹¹ In 1972 the National Council of Churches announced the closing of their overseas personnel recruitment office due to a lack of funds and candidates. But the deeper issue for liberal denominations was a questioning of the entire theological basis for mission.¹²

The prevailing controversy of the day revolved around the question of what the primary purpose and mission of the church should be: evangelism or social action? This issue was seen at the time in terms of a dichotomy and not holistically. Liberal theology and religious pluralism had shifted much of the church away from the conviction of the Christian responsibility to evangelize.

Another contentious issue concerned the tension between the mission and the "younger churches." The hesitation and delay in transferring authority and responsibility from the missionary to national church leaders was causing great consternation on the part of many in the newly-independent countries. Some in Africa were calling for a complete withdrawal of all European and American missionaries.¹³

At the close of the sixties the view of missions among evangelical students was similarly grim. Students on Christian college campuses seemed to have the most negative

¹¹ J. Herbert Kane, "Changes Observed in Missiological Studies," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, January 1974, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-200/1042>.

¹² David M. Howard, "Urbana '73 Theme Emphasizes Positive View of Missions," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, January 1973, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-188/964>.

¹³ Crawley, *World Christianity*, 83.

view of all. In a 1970 article in *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, the authors catalogue the contemporary student impressions of missions:

Missions as "out of it." Many students consider missions not much more than a dead cause because missions seem so irrelevant to the issues and problems of the day. . . . Students still accuse missionaries of being drab. In emphasizing devotion to God and sacrifice for His work, many evangelical missionaries seem to deny certain essential aspects of personality and beauty. . . . *Missions as traditional and inflexible.* Students fear that missions strategy and policies have not changed in the last twenty years. Frequently the terminology they hear from the missionary on the campus is very much the same that they heard as children; this gives rise to the suspicion that perhaps the whole enterprise is static and unimaginative. . . . *Missions as non-personal.* Youth are desperately scared that they might get involved in an organization where they are just another cog, going around in circles like the next one! . . . *Missions as unsuccessful.* . . . Because students question the validity of the institutional church here at home, they also question the validity of exporting institutional churches overseas. They also question the need for North American missionaries abroad when there is a national church in existence among all ethnic groups. They have nagging suspicions that missionaries have exported more Americanism than Christianity. And here's another honest doubt: If missions are "out of it" at home, they're probably not doing such a hot job overseas. . . . *The whole concept of the missionary has become "foreign" to the students.* They see the missionary as having a totally different life orientation and style. They can hardly imagine themselves in a similar role; far be it from them!¹⁴

This, then, is the negative environment preceding the 1974 launch of the *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* course. However, to borrow a phrase from a popular song of the decade, a change was "blowin' in the wind."¹⁵

¹⁴ Phil Schwas and Rick Melick, "How to Close the Gap between Students and Missionaries," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, October 1970, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-179/895> (italics mine).

¹⁵ Peter Yarrow, Paul Stookey, and Mary Travers, "Blowin' in the Wind," on *Peter, Paul and Mary: In the Wind*, Warner Bros. Records, Inc. Catalog No. 26224, 1963, 33 1/3 rpm, Lyrics by Bob Dylan.

A New Spiritual Vitality

Emerging from the turbulent 60s, the “Jesus Movement” erupted on the national youth scene. Beginning on the West Coast, hippies turned from drugs to Jesus and found in Him the love, freedom and purpose for which they were looking. Christianity began to take on a radically different appearance as they melded their music and youth culture with their new-found faith. The radical activism that ignited protests in the sixties now found expression in bold and passionate witness to their faith. This change was noticed at the Urbana ’70 missions convention, which recorded an upsurge in attendance. Although still not enamored with the institutional church, “this generation of students is looking for and finding spiritual vitality centered around the person of Jesus Christ.”¹⁶

The Urbana student mission congress is convened every three years (previously at the University of Illinois at Urbana) by InterVarsity Christian Fellowship. The planners of Urbana ’73 decided they had had enough of negativism:

Students have heard much about colonialism, paternalism, western imperialism (religious as well as political), failures of mission policies, racism in missions, superiority attitudes of missionaries, ad infinitum. However, although a critical analysis of past failures is necessary for future progress, there comes a time when negativism can no longer produce positive results. In my opinion, we have reached that point in missions. . . . Therefore, the planners for Urbana ’73 . . . have decided to take a positive approach. . . . We want to sound a forward-looking note of hope based on the sovereignty of God as the Lord of history who will fulfill all of his purposes.¹⁷

¹⁶ James W. Reapsome, "Urbana '70: One Man's Impression," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, April 1971, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-181/906>.

¹⁷ Howard, "Urbana '73."

The call for a positive outlook hit a chord. The following year an entire issue of the *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* was devoted to the “remarkable expansion” of the “evangelical missionary enterprise.” Editor Jim Reapsome proclaimed, “There is no sign we can detect that missions are going out of business.”¹⁸ It was noted that although mission interest had woefully declined within liberal Christian institutions, among conservative evangelicals mission interest and commitment was on the rise. Several Bible schools had added a year of missions to their programs. Many seminaries, including Wheaton, Fuller, Concordia and Trinity had established a school of world mission within the past decade. And the curriculum was changing:

In the liberal schools the trend is away from apologetics to ecumenics, from mission history to church history, from systematic theology to the theology of development, theology of liberation, and theology of revolution. . . . In the conservative schools the trend is away from the more conventional subjects, such as history of missions and missionary principles and practice to cross-cultural communications, missionary anthropology, and church growth.¹⁹

Missiology, a fairly new discipline, was maturing. The American Society for Missiology was founded in 1973, with its new publication, *Missiology: An International Review*. Other journals and publications were founded to feed and inform the growing evangelical interest in missions. William Carey Library publishing house was established to enable low-volume mission titles to be printed and distributed economically. Missiologist Herbert Kane commented in 1974, “Thirty years ago a new book on missions was an event. Not so today. Mission books are coming off the press so rapidly

¹⁸ James W. Reapsome, "Editorial: A Positive Outlook," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, January 1974, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-200/1037>.

¹⁹ Kane, "Changes Observed."

that one hardly has the time to read them, much less the money to buy them.”²⁰ And what was the principle interest in evangelical missions?

In evangelical circles no issue has commanded more attention than church growth, whose pioneer and prophet is Dr. Donald A. McGavran, who founded the Institute of Church Growth in 1960 and ever since has been calling mission leaders back to the prime purpose of world missions—preaching the gospel, discipling the nations, and multiplying churches. Scores of books and hundreds of articles have been written on the subject—with still more to come.²¹

But it is what happened at Urbana '73 that sounded a trumpet call that proclaimed a new day in missions had indeed arrived.

Billy Graham frequently gave a keynote address at Urbana conventions in which he would challenge students to sign a commitment card to pursue God's call on their life regarding missions. Attendance at the conventions gradually rose over the years but the number of students signing commitment cards experienced a sharp decline during the 1960s. At Urbana '70, only fourteen percent of the 12,304 students in attendance signed the commitment cards. Then suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, there was a sharp turnaround. At Urbana '73 when the challenge was issued for students to commit themselves to whatever course God had for them in world missions, Urbana leaders were surprised at how many stood up and responded. Thinking that they did not understand the challenge, students were told to sit down and the challenge was repeated, this time making it harder. Even more students stood up in response. It was the largest response in Urbana history. That weekend twenty-eight percent of the 14,158 students signed a commitment card. More cards came into InterVarsity Christian Fellowship's headquarters

²⁰ Kane, "Changes Observed."

²¹ Kane, "Changes Observed."

over the next weeks, raising the total to thirty-eight percent. At the next convention in 1976, the percentage of students signing commitment cards grew to fifty percent.²² Students had left the negativism of the 1960s behind; God was stirring a new generation of students for His global purpose.

It is at this point, with the large and unexpected student response at Urbana '73 that the story of the *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* course begins.

The Development of the Perspectives Course 1973-1981

Fuller School of World Mission Background

Ralph Winter heard the report of the amazing student response at Urbana '73. Could this be the beginnings of another Student Volunteer Movement, he wondered.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Holy Spirit moved upon a whole generation of students calling them into the mission fields of the world. They were motivated by the motto "the evangelization of the world in this generation" and began what is referred to as "The Student Volunteer Movement." By 1945 around one hundred thousand students had signed a pledge committing themselves to "foreign missions" and twenty thousand of those actually ended up overseas. The ones who did not go prayed for and supported their fellow student missionaries. Global researcher Todd M. Johnson calculated that as there are thirty-seven times more college students today, the equivalent response among today's students would amount to 3.7 million signing mission pledge

²² David M. Howard, "What Happened at Urbana--its Meaning for Missions," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, July 1977, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-198/1025>.

cards and 740,000 becoming missionaries.²³ According to the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, the global foreign mission force in AD 2000 only equaled 420,000.²⁴ The Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) made possible great progress in world evangelization during the twentieth century. Yet now in the last quarter of the century, most of those SVM missionaries were retiring. A new wave of recruits was needed to replace them.

Ralph Winter was professor at the relatively new School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California. Previously Winter and his family spent ten years working as missionaries among the Mayan Indians of Guatemala. In that capacity Winter and James Emery founded the Theological Education by Extension (TEE) movement, which has transformed the training of Christian pastors and leaders across the globe.²⁵ On Winter's furlough in Pasadena in 1966, Donald McGavran approached Winter about teaching at the newly established School of World Mission. The permanent missions faculty at that time consisted of McGavran and Alan Tippett, a well-known missionary anthropologist. Donald McGavran was considered by many a leading missiologist of the twentieth century. Through his seminal book, *The Bridges of*

²³ Todd Johnson in personal communication with author. Johnson calculated these figures using past and present U.S. Census Bureau statistics.

²⁴ Barrett and Johnson, *World Christian Trends*, 384.

²⁵ TEE brings theological education and pastoral training to the pastor instead of requiring him to leave his family and employment to attend a distant Bible school.

God,²⁶ he popularized the concept of people movements to Christ and raised awareness of cultural (not just linguistic) barriers to evangelism.

Working alongside McGavran at Fuller was formative for Winter. His wife, Roberta elaborates,

Although in Guatemala we had seen the wonderful changes that the Gospel brought into a community, we were surprised at Fuller by Dr. McGavran's exuberant conviction that we were in the sunrise, not the sunset of missions. Like others, we had heard plenty of the bad news of the world, as reported in the newspapers. At the School of World Mission we were privileged like few others to have access to the good news, the wonderful news that God was no liar: that as He promised, His gospel was spreading and growing, often out of control, all around the world.²⁷

McGavran's thinking about church planting movements among people groups deeply influenced Winter. Through his own study of how the gospel flowed throughout history from one cultural basin into another, Winter became convinced that a separate church planting movement was needed for every people group on earth in order for the church to complete the Great Commission. This would require a massive change in strategy among mission agencies. It would also require multitudes of new missionaries.

Suddenly, in 1973 a new surge of mission interest appears among Urbana students. Could the Holy Spirit be moving again among another student generation?

²⁶ Donald A. McGavran, *The Bridges of God*, rev ed. (New York: Friendship Press, 1981). Original edition published in 1955 by World Dominion Press in London.

²⁷ Roberta H. Winter, *I Will Do a New Thing* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1987), 16-19, 302.

Ralph Winter explored the possibility of another SVM in a 1974 article in *Christianity Today*, "Is a Big New Student Mission Movement in the Offing?"²⁸

SIIS: A Follow-Up to Urbana

With the newly expressed interest in missions, Winter was concerned that those students would have no idea how to follow up on their Urbana decision and that their flame of passion, if not fueled, would gradually be extinguished. Winter immediately contacted his long-time friend David Howard, InterVarsity's Urbana director. He challenged InterVarsity to offer a follow-up course for the students who had indicated missions interest. Considering his overwhelmed staff, Howard's response was, "Ralph, we've had more crying women in this office than we've ever had in one month. We can't do anything more!" Winter then offered to conduct a follow-up course himself if InterVarsity would release the students' contact information, something InterVarsity had never done. Howard responded to Winter with his own challenge. "You need to answer five questions before we will consider giving out our address list: (1) Who will teach? (2) What will you teach? (3) Where will you hold the class? (4) Who will sponsor it? and (5) Who will hold the bag financially?" If the questions were intended to dissuade Winter, they did not. Over the course of the next two weeks, Winter made about 200 phone calls, attaining answers to all five questions, much to Howard's surprise.²⁹

²⁸ Ralph D. Winter, "Is a Big New Student Mission Movement in the Offing?" *Christianity Today*, May 10, 1974.

²⁹ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

Amid an already busy schedule, Winter set about organizing and promoting a summer follow-up mission course for the Urbana students. He wanted the course to be credit-bearing so that it would not be an extra financial or time burden on the students. He also wanted to challenge students, not simply to a missionary career, but to lay hold of the total task of world evangelization. If they would embrace the total task of fulfilling the Great Commission, then they could work out under God's leading what their individual role in that task is to be. An early oft-repeated motto in the Perspectives course was, "Every major decision you make will be faulty unless you see it from God's perspective."³⁰

Winter also had four daughters and was looking at the college generation through their eyes. He recalls, "My own kids didn't have a knowledge of missions. My oldest, who is very sharp, asked me one day, 'Dad, who is William Carey?' I was shocked. I could see through their eyes that something foundational was needed."³¹

Winter first addressed the task of establishing a board of directors. He gathered together about twelve mission executives living in the Wheaton area at the Wheaton College campus cafeteria to discuss the project. Out of that group he formed a small five-man board and incorporated. The original board consisted of Winter, Ted Ward, Charles Mellis, Jack Frizen and Warren Webster.

The course was planned for the summer of 1974 and named the *Summer Institute of International Studies* (SIIS). The name and nature of the course was patterned after

³⁰ Steven C. Hawthorne, "History of the Perspectives Course" (Speech delivered to consultation of Perspectives coordinators, Pasadena, CA, July 14, 2004).

³¹ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

Wycliffe Bible Institute's *Summer Institute of Linguistics* which Winter had taken for credit when he was a student. SIIS became the forerunner of the Perspectives course.

InterVarsity unfortunately did very little to promote the course, merely sending out a letter to the Urbana card-signers. As they did not alert their campus staff, very little interest was generated. Out of the five thousand Urbana card-signers, only two students registered for SIIS as a result of InterVarsity's efforts.

When Winter saw that InterVarsity was not going to do very much to promote the course, he was able to get Billy Graham to mention it twice on his "Hour of Decision" radio program. He also succeeded in convincing Harold Lindsell, editor of *Christianity Today* and one of Winter's former professors, to allow Winter to write a full-page ad/article in *Christianity Today*. The article questioned if another Student Volunteer Movement might be emerging and also announced the upcoming SIIS course. For a more direct approach, Winter enlisted his college-age daughters to get on the phone before eight o'clock West Coast time every morning for weeks, calling Urbana students inviting them to the class. Through all these means they were able to enroll twenty-nine students for the first *Summer Institute of International Studies*.³²

Winter asked an old friend, Herbert Kane, to be the dean. As he contacted other mission professors, he realized that most of them already had their summer schedules in place and could, at best, give only one week to the program. As a last resort they decided to have a different professor come in each week to teach. Kane fretted that such a structure would be way too confusing and messy to function and dropped out from

³² Ralph D. Winter, personal recollections at a celebration gathering on the thirtieth anniversary of the Perspectives course (Pasadena, CA, July 13, 2004).

serving as dean. It turned out to be a smashing success and Perspectives has continued this practice to this day. The only downside, Winter recalls, was that that first summer each visiting professor wanted to assign a term paper for their week of teaching, thereby overloading the students.³³

Winter developed a ten week curriculum, divided into two sessions. Each professor taught for a week on the subject that he was assigned. The four-section structure of the course—Biblical, Historical, Cultural and Strategic—came from the structure of the Fuller School of World Mission curriculum. Halfway through the first session the students became very excited about what they were learning. Winter shut the school down for an entire day and had them write their friends encouraging them to come to the second session.³⁴

SIIS was held at Wheaton College where the students lived and studied for the entire summer session. The visiting professors would also live in the dorms and eat with the students during their week of teaching. They held class in the morning, ate lunch together, had free time in the afternoon, ate dinner together and had wonderful prayer times in the evenings. Almost every evening either the visiting professor or one of the many missionaries in the Wheaton area would come and share their life story. It was a rich time for the students having so much access to the professors, most of whom were

³³ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

³⁴ Ralph Winter, personal recollections, July 13, 2004.

also former missionaries. Students were not only picking up knowledge, they were being mentored by some of the most experienced mission leaders of the day.³⁵

The roster of the original SIIS professors read like a Who's Who in missions: Dr. Ralph Winter, Dr. Arthur Glasser, Dr. Paul Hiebert, Dr. C. Peter Wagner, Dr. Harvey Conn, Dr. Herbert Kane, Dr. Ted Ward, David Howard, and Elizabeth Elliott. The class was coordinated by Alvin Martin, the extension director at Fuller at the time and a former missionary to Israel. Credit was extended through Whitworth College in Washington State.³⁶

On the first day of the first ever SIIS course, Dr. Arthur Glasser stood up and read to that small group of twenty-nine students a passage from Zechariah 4:10: "Do not despise the day of small beginnings." What a prophetic word that was as the global *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* movement was launched that day.

Bruce Graham, who became very influential in the development of SIIS into what is today known as the Perspectives course, emphasizes that SIIS was more than a just a course to them:

The alumni out of these earlier classes felt like we were becoming part of a student movement for missions after earlier student mission movements. This was not a course or a program for us, but a cause to live for. Many alumni stayed connected and recruited others into the movement. We just wanted to be together and work together toward a world-size cause that had eternal significance.³⁷

³⁵ Bruce Graham, interview by author, email, July 13, 2005.

³⁶ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

³⁷ Graham, interview, July 13, 2005.

The sense that another Student Volunteer Movement might be igniting and that they were part of it powerfully captured and motivated the SIIS students.

Lausanne '74

In the middle of the first SIIS session, Ralph Winter stopped by on his way to Lausanne, Switzerland for the International Congress on World Evangelization sponsored by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. The Lausanne congress gathered three thousand participants from around the world for study and discussion of the church's evangelistic and missionary mandate. Winter was on the program to deliver a plenary address on the final day of the congress. Still working on his presentation, he shared with the SIIS students the groundbreaking challenge he was going to deliver at Lausanne. Bruce Graham, an engineering student, recalls Winter, who also held a graduate engineering degree, asking him to help draw up pie charts to illustrate the present state of the world in terms of evangelization. According to Graham, the impact of looking at those pie charts, clearly displaying the facts regarding unreached people groups, "captured them for life."³⁸

It is not an overstatement to say that Winter's address at Lausanne '74 so radically altered the focus and strategy of global mission efforts that a line of demarcation can be drawn between pre-Lausanne '74 understanding and efforts and post-Lausanne '74 efforts. In a day when so much contemporary thought asserted that the day of the missionary was over, the church is planted in every country of the world, and the

³⁸ Bruce Graham, personal recollections at a celebration gathering on the thirtieth anniversary of the Perspectives course (Pasadena, CA, July 13, 2004).

remaining non-Christians in the world can be reached by the ongoing evangelism of the national church, Winter's address came as a bombshell.³⁹

Building on McGavran's missiology, Winter introduced the whole concept of unreached people groups, referring to them as "hidden people groups." The terminology "unreached people groups" came a few years later. Using examples from India and Indonesia, Winter demonstrated how the existing church within each of those countries, are not and could not evangelize all of their fellow countrymen without crossing significant barriers of both language and culture—a truly *missionary* task. India and Indonesia were given as potent examples of how most every geographical country consists of hundreds or thousands of separate cultural-linguistic ethnic groups. He supported his research biblically, noting that when the scripture spoke of "nations" it was usually referring to cultural-linguistic ethnic groups, not geo-political countries.

Introducing the labels "E-1," "E-2" and "E-3" to define increasingly difficult levels of the evangelistic task, Winter established how the national churches' evangelistic outreaches will only reach those from their own culture (E-1); it will take a different kind of cross-cultural outreach (E-2 and E-3) to reach those around them of different languages and cultures. Winter concludes: "We are thus forced to believe that until every tribe and tongue has a strong, powerfully evangelizing church in it, and thus an E-1 witness within it, E-2 and E-3 efforts coming from outside are still essential and highly

³⁹ The text of this address, "The New Macedonia: A Revolutionary New Era in Mission Begins," can be found in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne, editors. (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 347-360.

urgent.”⁴⁰ He then drove the point home, asserting “cross-cultural evangelism must still be the highest priority. Far from being a task that is now out-of-date, the shattering truth is that at least four out of five non-Christians in the world today are beyond the reach of any Christian’s E-1 evangelism.”⁴¹ In other words, if every local church in the world were to effectively evangelize everyone within their range – those speaking the same language and inhabiting the same culture—four out of every five non-Christians in the world would still be completely untouched, beyond the range of any existing church or the present efforts of any mission. Winter called attention to the huge Muslim and Hindu spheres as examples of millions of non-Christians lacking any gospel witness within their language and culture. “Why is this fact not more widely known?” Winter asked. “I’m afraid that all our exultation about the fact that every *country* of the world has been penetrated has allowed many to suppose that every *culture* has by now been penetrated.”⁴² Winter called this “people blindness.”

Winter’s address at Lausanne ’74 was controversial and caused quite a stir. Yet Donald McGavran commented, “Nothing said at Lausanne had more meaning for the expansion of Christianity between now and the year 2000.”⁴³ As the implications of his

⁴⁰ Ralph D. Winter, “The New Macedonia: A Revolutionary New Era in Mission Begins,” in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 350.

⁴¹ Ralph Winter, “New Macedonia,” 353.

⁴² Ralph Winter, “New Macedonia,” 353.

⁴³ Donald A. McGavran, introductory comment to Ralph D. Winter, “The New Macedonia: A Revolutionary New Era in Mission Begins,” in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 347.

challenge sunk in, over the next few years it prompted widespread discussion and eventual changes in mission goals and strategies. Ten years later in an interview with *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, the heads of the two largest evangelical missions associations—Wade Coggins of the EFMA⁴⁴ and Edwin (Jack) Frizen, Jr. of the IFMA⁴⁵—pointed back to the significance of this historic crossroads. The interviewer asked, “If you could pick out only one thing, what would be the most significant thing that has happened in world missions since 1964?” Coggins replied, “The rise of [indigenous] mission agencies and missionaries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.” But he then added,

A second development, if you permit, is the new way of viewing the unfinished task. The unreached people group movement has caught the imagination of a lot of people and convinced them that there is indeed a remaining task. . . . This concept also challenges missions as they seek to find unreached peoples and prepare strategies to reach them.⁴⁶

Jack Frizen responded,

My choice is the renewed focus on unreached people groups and penetrating the frontiers still remaining. This has influenced missions agencies at home and in the field to evaluate the work of their missionary staff, to see if they are in fact reaching out to unreached peoples. It has helped new mission agencies of churches in developing countries to make their own mission goals without working toward an institutional approach to their work. In North America, the

⁴⁴ The Evangelical Foreign Mission Association (EFMA) was renamed The Mission Exchange in 2007.

⁴⁵ The Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA) was renamed CrossGlobal Link in 2007.

⁴⁶ Dean Merrill, "It's Our 20th Birthday: Interviews with Wade Coggins and Edwin L. Jack Frizen, Jr.," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, April 1984, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-234/1281>.

movement has given a renewed vision to many supporting churches, prospective candidates, and missionary training schools.⁴⁷

Through his writing and speaking over the next months and years Winter continued to call attention to the unfinished task of world evangelization, advocating for efforts to reach the unreached people groups. Through statistics, charts and graphs he also visually portrayed the grossly disparate distribution of the world's missionary force.

For example, in September 1976 Winter delivered the opening address, entitled "The Grounds for a New Thrust in World Mission," to the joint conference of the IFMA, the EFMA and the Association of Evangelical Professors of Missions. Using carefully drafted graphical charts drawn precisely to scale of population figures relative to each other (his mathematics and engineering degrees were not wasted), Winter helped mission agency executives visualize the extent of the remaining task.⁴⁸ His comments on the Hindu world reveal the research and reasoning he presented for each of the major blocks of unreached people groups—Chinese, Muslim and Hindu:

Once more, if we are sensitive at all to the heart of God, we must be stunned and crushed by the vastness of the unreached populations within this major block of mankind. But the second message is still more shocking: it is the stubborn fact not often recognized that a relatively small number of people in India are reachable by normal evangelistic efforts on the part of even the Christians in India. . . . A reliable—but staggering—report indicates that 98% of all current evangelistic efforts in India, whether missionary or national, are not even focused on non-Christians, but (as is true in the USA) are attempts of *believing* Christians to reach nominal Christians and bring them back into the vital fellowship of the church.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Merrill, "It's Our 20th Birthday."

⁴⁸ See Appendix A for graphs and statistical explanation.

⁴⁹ Ralph D. Winter, "The Grounds for a New Thrust in World Mission," in *Crucial Dimensions in World Evangelization*, ed. Arthur F. Glasser, Paul G. Hiebert, C. Peter Wagner and Ralph D. Winter (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), 472 (emphasis his).

The size of believing communities within Muslim peoples, whether in Asia or Africa, was so small that it could not even be shown graphically on the chart! And the size of the missionary force working among the vast Muslim sphere was graphically illustrated as barely more than a dot on the page.

Winter sought to shock his audience into action with the following comments:

As a result, it is not difficult to understand how it may be claimed that the average missionary today is no more likely to be fulfilling a ministry directly among non-Christians than are his supporters back home. You will quibble about this statement. . . . But it is undeniable that some of the most pervasive trends in the past 50 years have been 1) the successful and impressive development of the national churches, 2) the waning percentage of pioneer-type missionary recruits, and 3) the increasing demands by the national churches for missionary specialists to work in the area of nurture. As a result, the front line evangelical missionary today may not be as extinct as the dodo, but is far less visible than the general practitioner in medicine. It is eminently fair to say that most present-day missionaries are specialists working in tasks other than cross-cultural evangelism among totally non-Christian people. . . . This may be the welcome “new day” in relation to national churches, but it represents a massive, mainly tragic swerving away from the straightforward requirements of the unfulfilled task in regard to the 2.8 billion non-Christians.⁵⁰

At this same mission executive meeting, Winter proposed the establishment of a major mission center that would focus attention on the Chinese, Hindu and Muslim blocks of unreached peoples. The emergence of the U.S. Center for World Mission was on the horizon.

“In the Gap”

The students of the first SIIS in 1974 returned home to enthusiastically share with their churches and friends, seeking to mobilize them to mission among unreached

⁵⁰ Ralph Winter, “Grounds for a New Thrust,” 479-480 (emphasis his).

peoples. Two of those students, Bruce and Christy Graham, were to play a large role in the future development of SIIS.

Bruce decided to take a year off upon completion of a Master's degree from the Massachusetts Institute in Technology in Aeronautics and Astronautics before securing an engineering job. Feeling strongly led toward missions as a result of the annual mission conference at Park Street Church in Boston, he chose to study that year at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. In January 1974 Ralph Winter came as a visiting professor to teach a month-long intensive course, in which Bruce enrolled. On one of his graded papers, Winter wrote a note to Bruce asking him to consider coming to that first SIIS. As a result of the SIIS course, they felt a strong confirmation that they were to pursue missions for their life's work.

Bruce and Christy returned to Park Street Church in Boston and started a missions fellowship where they shared many of the things they had learned in SIIS. Graham recalls that in those days God was working in amazing ways among the collegiate ministry of Park Street, fueling their vision. The following summer they returned to attend the second SIIS, mobilizing twenty-two students to join them. They piled in a car caravan to travel from Boston to Wheaton, stopping enroute to visit the famous "Haystack Prayer Meeting" monument in Williamstown, Massachusetts.⁵¹ The "Haystack Prayer Meeting" was where in 1806 the first American students consecrated themselves to foreign missions, leading to an active recruitment of students into mission service and the

⁵¹ Bruce Graham, personal recollections, July 13, 2004.

establishment of the first ever American mission society.⁵² The Graham's felt that they were embarking upon a similar student movement.

The 1975 SIIS, held again at Wheaton College, was similar to the first, however a few extra weeks were added at the end so that returning alumni could obtain further scholastic credit. Charles Mellis, former president of Mission Aviation Fellowship and on the SIIS board of directors, coordinated the class. The second SIIS course concluded with a field trip to Guatemala. Winter, along with two of his daughters, Linda and Beth, joined the students returning back to the country they had served as missionaries. In Guatemala they visited several mission stations in the day and gathered in the evening to learn from and critique both the good and the bad of the mission station strategies. It was very illuminating to the students, as what often looked good on the surface, might not be so healthy in terms of long-term strategy.⁵³ They also began to dream together on this trip about forming a missions community focused on unreached peoples. They were highly motivated by Charles Mellis' new book, *Committed Communities: Fresh Streams for World Mission*.⁵⁴

A challenge for the students was how to maintain this student mission movement between summer courses. They decided to start an SIIS newsletter and set up Student Conferences on World Evangelization (SCOWE) on college campuses, planned and

⁵² Timothy C. Wallstrom, *The Creation of a Student Movement to Evangelize the World* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 1980), 24-29.

⁵³ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

⁵⁴ Charles J. Mellis, *Committed Communities: Fresh Streams for World Mission* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976).

conducted by the alumni. Back home alumni also began small Bible study and prayer groups, called the Fellowship of World Christians, to mobilize others and to nurture their own mission commitment. All of this was stimulated by and modeled after the historic Student Volunteer Movement.

One of the participants in the 1975 SIIS class was David Bryant, now known internationally for promoting Concerts of Prayer, serving as chairman of America's National Prayer Committee and through the many books he has authored. Bryant had been pastoring a church on the outskirts of the Kent State University campus. Through a study of the book of Ephesians, he acquired a global vision. He began to get a sense of awe of what God could do through one church that participated with Him on mission. The church set a goal to develop a global vision and began to send students out as missionaries.

In 1974 Bryant noticed Winter's article in *Christianity Today* questioning whether another Student Volunteer Movement might be in the making and was filled with wonder that maybe God would do it again. Bryant also noticed that the author was a professor at the Fuller School of World Mission (SWM). He did not know such a school existed. By the fall of that year he had moved to Pasadena and was enrolled in Fuller. One of the first things he wanted to do was to meet professor Winter. As he stood knocking on the door of Winter's office, he was confronted by a sign on the door: "God cannot lead you on the basis of facts you do not know." That sign and Winter's influence led to his long-term involvement with SIIS and as an author and instructor in the Perspectives course.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ David Bryant, personal recollections at a celebration gathering on the thirtieth anniversary of the Perspectives course (Pasadena, CA, July 13, 2004).

Bryant completed his master's degree in Missiology at Fuller SWM, raised support and joined the staff of SIIS in 1975 as National Coordinator of the program. In this capacity he developed curriculum, shaped the day-to-day structure of the classes, designed field trip experiences and gave oversight to the course. SIIS opened an official office in Pasadena in the fall of 1975.

In preparation for his classes, Bryant developed a "World Christian Psalter"—a songbook comprised of popular hymns and choruses, rewritten with a world missions focus and application. He also developed a daily inductive Bible study series with "World Christian" themes for students to use in their personal devotionals and small group meetings. Bryant taught the students about "World Christian discipleship." He later popularized the term "World Christian" through his highly influential book, *In the Gap: What It Means to Be a World Christian*,⁵⁶ published in 1979. Bryant was introduced to the term "World Christian" in a lecture by Winter at Fuller SWM (it was first used in the title of a 1927 YMCA publication). "I reconstituted it," Bryant explains, "to refer to what it means to live a life that is fully wrapped around Christ and His global cause on every level of practical daily discipleship."⁵⁷ *In the Gap* was promoted at Urbana '79 and became a well-read book among young people for the next twenty years.

For the 1976 SIIS class, Bryant spent much time negotiating with the leaders of the major student organizations to secure their support and recruit from among their ranks. He developed a thirty-page catalog for the course that was mailed out to nearly

⁵⁶ David Bryant, *In the Gap: What It Means to Be a World Christian* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1979).

⁵⁷ David Bryant, interview by author, email, August 15, 2005.

three thousand who wrote in for more information. The well-attended 1976 course provided specialized modules for those from organizations such as InterVarsity, Navigators and Campus Crusade for Christ to be able to study and share together.

But then a division arose. During the summer of 1976, the SIIS board came to a disagreement over the nature of the course. Some wanted to see it continue to expand in order to mobilize a new wave of World Christians, while others wanted to focus on the academic nature of the class, keeping it small to refine the pedagogy. It was at this point that David Bryant resigned from SIIS, taking a position as Missions Specialist for InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, where he served for the next twelve years continuing to mobilize students into World Christian discipleship. Bryant credits Fuller's School of World Mission and SIIS for having had a profound influence on him and his ministry. The "World Christian Discipleship" department of InterVarsity in the 1980s flowed out of *In the Gap*, which flowed out of the School of World Mission and the *Summer Institute of International Studies*. Bryant concludes, "Above everything else, SWM, SIIS and Perspectives have each provided the same fundamental overhaul of my whole world view, and it has done so in two major directions: (1) a massively enlarged Christology and (2) an abounding, unrelenting hope about the task before us and its ultimate outcome."⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Bryant, interview, August 15, 2005.

Foundational Developments

Up until this time the SIIS courses did not have a codified curriculum. The four-section structure was in place from the beginning, adopted from the structure of the Fuller School of World Mission. The initial academic core courses of the Fuller SWM that the Perspectives course was patterned after were (1) Biblical theology of mission; (2) History of the advance of the world Christian movement; (3) Cultural anthropology; and (4) Church growth strategy. The SIIS curriculum consisted of various readings—often photocopied—from multiple sources. The Lausanne Occasional Papers coming out after the 1974 Congress provided a wealthy resource on current mission issues.

With rising student interest in missions, Moody Bible Institute asked Peter Wagner to develop a curriculum for an introductory missions course in their extension program. Wagner in turn asked Arthur Glasser to write the theological dimension of the curriculum, Ralph Winter to write the historical dimension, while he set about writing on the strategic dimension of missions. Paul Hiebert was chosen to write the cultural and anthropological dimension.⁵⁹ These four missiologists worked together to produce a highly relevant, insightful text for the day: *Crucial Dimensions in World Evangelization*, published in 1976.⁶⁰ Contributing authors to the text were well-known mission professionals McGavran, Alan R. Tippett, Roger Greenway, Edward Murphy, Warren Webster, J. Robertson McQuilkin and Ralph R. Covell. Besides the sections mentioned above, additional topics covered were church/mission tensions, Third World missions and

⁵⁹ Ralph Winter, personal recollections, July 13, 2004.

⁶⁰ Arthur F. Glasser et al., eds., *Crucial Dimensions in World Evangelization* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976).

an introduction to Theological Education by Extension. For some reason Moody Bible Institute never used the curriculum. However, it became a foundational text for the next several years for the *Institute of International Studies* (the name was eventually changed from SIIS to IIS when the course was no longer held only in the summer). It was, in fact, in structure and format, a forerunner to *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*.

Another critical foundation was established in 1976. Ralph Winter was increasingly burdened that there needed to be a world missions center focused on unreached people groups. Momentum was picking up in terms of awareness and interest in the unfinished task of world evangelization, but so much more needed to be done in order to push it front and center in the thinking of mission agencies and the church. A missions center could provide research to uncover who are and where are the unreached people groups, develop strategies concerning the best way to reach them, and create tools to educate and mobilize the church. It would also provide a non-proprietary place where a mosaic of agencies and organizations could network and cooperate together towards a single purpose. Winter proposed the concept to mission leaders, Fuller faculty and students whenever he could, and although interest was generated, no one accepted the challenge of establishing such a center. For months Winter struggled over a decision of whether to resign from Fuller and focus on starting such a center. “‘I must admit,’ he told the other professors, ‘that this project may very well fail. But I am overwhelmingly convinced that God wants someone to try it. No one else seems willing, so I guess I’ll

have to.”⁶¹ Such a sentiment is characteristic of Winter. He has been known over the years for saying, “Do not do things others can do; do things others can not or will not do.”

Letting go of financial security and a prestigious career, Ralph and Roberta Winter launched out on the riskiest venture of their lifetime, confident in faith that God was calling them to found the U.S. Center for World Mission. With no financial provision in sight, they negotiated to buy the Pasadena campus owned by Point Loma Nazarene College in California. The college was relocating and needed desperately to sell the property. The Winters’, with no money, were competing with a strange religious cult with a pocketful of money, to purchase the property. For a period of months, both the cult and the newly formed U.S. Center for World Mission occupied the property at the same time. Roberta Winter recounts the fascinating story of intense spiritual warfare and divine miracle after miracle which paved the way for full purchase and occupation of the campus in her book, *I Will Do a New Thing*. The U.S. Center for World Mission (USCWM) was formally founded in November of 1976. Most of the original staff were SIIS alumni. The worldview and lives of the SIIS students had been dramatically changed; they felt strongly that they were part of a new movement of God stirring up the church to finish the task of world evangelization. Winter had taught them to work for a cause, rather than a career. They had lived and studied in community, many keeping in contact with each other throughout the year. It was a natural next step to follow their passion to Pasadena to staff this exciting new world mission center.

⁶¹ Roberta Winter, *I Will Do a New Thing*, 32.

“The Living God is a Missionary God”

In a year of laying critical foundations, 1976 yielded yet another advance in the development of the Perspectives course. Once again it came about through the Urbana student missionary convention.

Student interest in missions was continuing to swell, evidenced by the increased attendance and response at Urbana '76. When on the fourth night of the convention, Billy Graham once again issued his customary call for students to commit themselves to God and His global purposes, several thousand stood. Fifty percent of the students signed mission commitment cards. In an offering taken to advance student ministry around the world, \$300,000 was given or pledged—possibly the largest student offering ever given to date in history.⁶²

Billy Graham was asked in his press conference, “What do you sense about these students here?” He said, “They are not asking the hard questions they used to ask. They are asking the practical questions, ‘What can I do? I am ready to move. I want to do something for the Lord. I want to be in on what God is doing.’”⁶³

Summer mission projects for college students were fueling missionary interest. Youth With A Mission and Operation Mobilization, in particular, were demonstrating the value of utilizing young people in short-term mission efforts. The mission boards were also beginning to change their attitude and perceptions of students, revamp their policies and procedures and upgrade their recruitment materials. Global air travel was more

⁶² Howard, "What Happened at Urbana."

⁶³ Howard, "What Happened at Urbana."

commonplace; as students set out by the thousands to far-flung places, the world was opening up to them. Satellite technology enhanced television news reporting stimulating increased global awareness. A commentator of the day makes this observation:

What is interesting is that no one adopted a deliberate plan to change the student mood toward missions. . . . It seems, as a matter of fact, that the renewal of interest in missions among young people has come about almost in spite of what the missions people were saying and doing. . . . Sociologists are still trying to figure out what happened to the widely-heralded youth rebellion, the youth culture of the late '60's and early '70's. . . . This sudden turnaround should perhaps tell us once again, what we have been saying these many years, that after all there is a Lord of the harvest who sends out his workers. We have at times preached this without the faintest hope that the Lord of the harvest would indeed change things so drastically that rebellious kids would be applying for missionary service.⁶⁴

Once again Ralph and Roberta Winter designed a follow-up curriculum for Urbana students wanting to pursue a mission interest. They came to Urbana to introduce their new curriculum, *Understanding World Evangelization* (UWE).⁶⁵ Developed by the same four missiologists who produced the *Crucial Dimensions* text, it consisted of a study guide tied to four books, along with a cassette-taped introduction. The four study texts were: *Crucial Dimensions in World Evangelization*; *The Twenty-Five Unbelievable Years: 1945-1969* by Ralph D. Winter; *Frontiers in Missionary Strategy* by C. Peter Wagner; and *Stop the World, I Want to Get On*, also by Wagner. UWE was developed for SIIS. The added benefit, however, of the UWE curriculum was that it was designed to make possible totally independent study; indeed, the expectation was that most students

⁶⁴ James W. Reapsome, "Editorial: the Unexpected Turnaround," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, April 1975, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-210/1112>.

⁶⁵ Arthur F. Glasser et al., *Understanding World Evangelization: Cultural Dimensions in International Development* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977).

would take the course this way. Both college and graduate credit were available through Westmont College for the course.

John R.W. Stott, the famous British evangelical Bible expositor, was scheduled to deliver the opening Bible lecture at Urbana '76. Sitting in the large assembly hall was a student with only a mild interest in missions but a profound eagerness to hear Dr. Stott—a student by the name of Steve Hawthorne. He recalls that morning vividly:

It was about 10:15 on the morning of December 28, 1976 when Stott took the stage. With his grand British accent, Stott announced the title of his address: “The Living God is a Missionary God.” I expected good exposition but I did not expect an integrated focal point. Stott presented the entire Bible as a single escalating story of God accomplishing His purpose among all the peoples of the earth. The first chapter of the *Perspectives Reader* is the transcript of that very address by Stott.⁶⁶

Three days later Hawthorne attended a seminar taught by Ralph and Roberta Winter. The classroom was packed out with students. When Dr. Winter entered wearing his trademark bowtie, Hawthorne, unimpressed, tried to exit. But he was sitting on the front row and there was no way out. Armed with graphs and statistics, Winter spoke on the concept of actually completing the Great Commission. Hawthorne recalls what caught his attention the most was the “doughnut chart” contrasting where the gospel has gone and has yet to go, highlighting the gross imbalance of current missionary deployment. At the end of the seminar, Winter excitedly announced a new curriculum that students could take via correspondence, *Understanding World Evangelization*. They had actually not yet completed the curriculum, but the first lesson was available for pick up that day. Hawthorne took the photocopied lesson, completed it, and mailed it in for grading.

⁶⁶ Steven C. Hawthorne, interview by author, Austin, TX, June 11, 2005.

Steve Hawthorne returned from Urbana with a sense that “missions” might be in his future. Hawthorne had not been antagonistic to missions, he just felt it was for others. As part of the “Jesus Movement” he was searching for a ministry role suitable for him.

Hawthorne completed the UWE correspondence course in the spring of 1977 while concurrently working toward a graduate degree. His mission understanding and commitment began to grow, out of context from the California Christian youth culture of which he was a part. Hawthorne set about educating and mobilizing his contemporaries with what he was learning.

On the last day of December 1978, Hawthorne and his wife Barbara moved onto the campus of the U.S. Center for World Mission. They joined the Haggai Community founded by Bruce and Christy Graham. Inspired by Charles Mellis’ book, *Committed Communities*, members lived in community preparing, like the Moravians of old, to go off together as committed teams into the mission field. Haggai Community was the first member organization of the U.S. Center for World Mission. The vision of the USCWM was to attract many mission agencies and organizations to locate on its campus in order to collaborate together. Soon many other organizations established themselves at the Center, staffed by SIIS alumni, such as the Zwemer Institute for Muslim Studies, the Institute of Chinese Studies, the Institute of Hindu Studies, and the Fellowship of Arts and Cultural Evangelization. These organizations represented streams of missiological thinking and contributed to the development of SIIS.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

A mere two years after being transformed by Stott's bold declaration that "the living God is a missionary God" and Winter's "doughnut charts," Hawthorne was embarking upon what would become a defining life calling for him.

Decline, Reorganization and Expansion

Even though many of the SIIS alumni, the key to new student recruitment, were now living and working in Pasadena at the USCWM, the SIIS board wanted to continue to hold the *Summer Institute of International Studies* at Wheaton College. Due to disagreement on the board over the direction SIIS should take, enrollment plummeted and the class had to be cancelled due to lack of students. Charles Mellis, the administrator of SIIS at the time, wanted to dissolve the course. Winter intervened, convincing the board to transfer it to the Center staff at Pasadena. The U.S. Center would take all the financial responsibility for the course. Looking back, Winter reflects that the failure of the 1977 classes was actually a good thing, for it allowed them to relieve a divided board of responsibility and bring SIIS under the auspices of the USCWM.⁶⁸

A major change came when in 1979 the course was expanded to a full semester, conducted in the fall, spring and summer, granting sixteen credit hours (four for each of the four sections of the course—Biblical, Historical, Cultural and Strategic). Consequently "Summer" was dropped out of the name; it was now called the *Institute of International Studies* (IIS). The frontier mission vision had matured to such a level that now four fully developed courses could be offered. Many of the IIS students both lived

⁶⁸ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

and worked at the USCWM. Additionally the Grahams' led IIS alumni on short term outreaches to India in 1978-1980, solidifying commitment to world mission. Many of those students became active in career missions in various parts of the world.⁶⁹

With the semester-long expansion of the course, it was recognized that the biblical section of the UWE curriculum was shorter than the others; consequently there were not enough readings to fill up a four week, four credit-hour section. As the overseer of curriculum development, Bruce Graham asked Steve Hawthorne to collect more readings for the biblical section. As a volunteer for IIS, Hawthorne gathered biblical articles—photocopied from existing works—and designed the curricula for the biblical section.

The format for the semester-long IIS course was the same as it had been for the SIIS course at Wheaton. The students lived in residence as a learning community and the speakers would spend an entire week with the students. Hawthorne fondly recalls how the instructors did not simply teach the material; they also poured out their hearts along with their fascinating life stories. Some of the speakers during that time (1979 – 1980) were Donald McGavran, J. Christy Wilson, Jr., Elizabeth Elliot, Harvey Conn, David Hesselgrave, Don McCurry, Sam Wilson of the Zwemer Institute, and many other leaders in the mission world.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Graham, interview, July 13, 2005.

⁷⁰ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

The Remarkable Penn State Class

Realizing that only a handful of students would ever be able to come to Pasadena to study, the USCWM staff began to dream of taking IIS to students via extension classes. Enrolled in a 1978 summer intensive IIS class were Jay and Olgy Gary, preparing to join USCWM staff. While raising ministry support in Pennsylvania, the Garys' visited with Phil Hardin, a former colleague on staff with Campus Crusade for Christ at Pennsylvania State University. That encounter led to the first official IIS extension course.⁷¹

Jay Gary recounts the progression of events:

We shared with Phil how reaching hidden peoples was key to fulfilling the Great Commission, and how students needed to be awakened to this challenge. He was open to this vision and invited us to bring a SCOWE, a Student Conference on World Evangelization, to his beach project the following summer of 1979....That band of Campus Crusade for Christ students attending the SCOWE in Lake Tahoe was blown away by what they learned. Phil then invited me to come back that coming winter to do a SCOWE for Penn State students. At that time, Penn State had the largest concentration of Christian students active in campus ministries out of all the universities in the US. I remember telling Phil, "We will come, but only if you let us run an IIS Extension course following the conference...." Phil agreed.

During that fall leading up to the conference, I spent time at Penn State, sharing the story of the Student Volunteer Movement, how it began with one hundred students banding together to fulfill the Great Commission. It too had started at a conference. I began to ask others, "Could God be raising up a Penn State 100?" The SCOWE conference at Penn State drew some 450 students. Greg Livingstone, Ralph Winter and I shared the platform. By the end of the first evening, two students had registered for the course.

I remember telling Fran Patt, the conference coordinator, "Those two are Caleb and Joshua." By the end of the conference, 65 students had signed up. Sensing that God was still at work, I delayed my trip back to Los Angeles. I set up camp and by week's end we reached our prayer goal of one hundred students registered for that Spring term, starting in less than 4 weeks. I returned to Pasadena, took a leave from my job as director of Personnel at the Center, and

⁷¹ Jay Gary, interview by author, email, June 26, 2005.

Olgy and I drove back to Penn State—to lead the first “Perspectives” extension class.⁷²

Once again Winter and IIS intersected with a movement of God already in progress among American students. Hundreds were coming to Christ each year on the Penn State campus through the active witness of students in the university Christian organizations such as Navigators, InterVarsity and Campus Crusade for Christ.

Fran Patt, who later opened the first USCWM Regional Office, was a recent graduate when approached by Phil Hardin about coordinating the Student Conference of World Evangelization (SCOWE) on the Penn State campus. Patt had met Winter and Gary when they conducted the SCOWE at the Lake Tahoe Campus Crusade summer project in 1979. Patt recalls that is when he became interested in the ministry of the USCWM. “I had been working with international students; but I hit a wall every time I ran into a Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist student. Jay gave me a copy of *Crucial Dimensions in World Evangelization* which opened my eyes.”⁷³

Patt worked with Jay Gary to set up the SCOWE on Penn State’s campus the first week of February 1980. They went to each university organization to arouse interest and recruit. Gary, however, never mentioned to Patt that the SCOWE was intended to be a forerunner to a follow-up semester-long course.

Speaking at the SCOWE, Ralph Winter laid out the challenge of unreached people groups. Greg Livingstone, then director of North Africa Mission, laid out the

⁷² Jay Gary, “Perspectives Marks 30th Anniversary,” *Helping Faith Communities Cultivate Foresight*, July 13, 2004, accessed July 21, 2004, http://www.jaygary.com/Perspectives_30thanniversary.shtml (site discontinued).

⁷³ Fran Patt, interview by author, Round Rock, TX, August 7, 2005.

challenge of North Africa—once the heartland of Christianity, now almost completely devoid of Christians. Livingstone really captured the imagination of the students, stirring their passions. North Africa Mission had a goal of planting twenty-five churches in North Africa by the year 2000. Livingstone told the students, “There’s nothing stopping us from getting into these countries, but I can’t promise I can get you out.”⁷⁴

One of the students called out to Livingstone, “What’s happening in Libya?” At the time, Libya was considered one of the most difficult countries to get into in the world. Livingstone replied, “We don’t have anybody in Libya. The last missionaries that were there were arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison. We are, however, looking for four men to go to Libya to see if they can get in and stay in.”⁷⁵

Such a challenge would not slip by unnoticed. Four Penn State students subsequently volunteered to go to Libya: Al Stahl, Harry Gray, Greg Fritz and Bob Sjogren. Fran Patt recollects, “I remember sitting down specifically with Stahl, Sjogren and Fritz to challenge them to attend the SCOWE, telling them that it will change their lives.”⁷⁶ It certainly did.

The four men planned to go to Libya for a year. If they could get into this highly resistant country, then they would prove that no country on earth is closed to the gospel. Their intent was twofold: (1) to demonstrate that students in the power of the Holy Spirit can go to the hardest places on earth and see the gospel proclaimed and (2) to return and

⁷⁴ Patt, interview, August 7, 2005.

⁷⁵ Bob Sjogren, interview by author, Round Rock, TX, August 5, 2005.

⁷⁶ Patt, interview, August 7, 2005.

mobilize other students to follow in their footsteps, going to the more difficult unreached segments of the world to finish the task of world evangelization. They decided to recruit a large prayer support team as part of their mobilization efforts. They called themselves the “Caleb Project” and, like the historic Student Volunteer Movement, developed a declaration of commitment to be signed by their student support team. This pledge became known as the “Caleb Declaration;” by signing it students committed their lives to make God’s purpose—that all men might know Him—their purpose in life.⁷⁷ Thousands have since signed the Caleb Declaration. It reads, “By the grace of God and for his glory, I commit my entire life to obeying his commission of Matthew 28:18-20, wherever and however he leads me, giving priority to the peoples currently beyond the reach of the gospel. I will also endeavor to pass this vision on to others.”⁷⁸

Within a week after the SCOWE, Jay Gary gave another project to Fran Patt: prepare to run a semester-long follow-up course—beginning in two weeks. Patt was listed as co-coordinator with Gary for the IIS course, even though he had never heard of it before.

The first IIS class meeting began unusually, Patt recalls. A blizzard arose that morning. Ralph Winter was flying in to speak, but became stuck in Pittsburg due to the snow. The airlines told Winter that there was no way he was going to get to Penn State that night. Back at Penn State they began to pray. The blizzard stopped for about one

⁷⁷ Sjogren, interview, August 5, 2005.

⁷⁸ *Caleb Project: Equipping the Church to Reach the Nations*, June 24, 2004, “The Caleb Declaration,” accessed July 30, 2005, http://www.calebproject.org/main.php/about_us/the_caleb_declaration (site discontinued).

hour—just enough time to get Winter’s plane airborne. As he landed at Penn State, the snow began in earnest again, shutting down the airport. When Winter arrived to teach, he shared his adventure with the students, who had been praying all day. “You could have heard a pin drop,” Patt remembers, “as the students realized God’s intervention in answer to their prayers. Dr. Winter was powerful that night. He spoke for two hours and the students stayed around another hour-and-a-half asking him questions.”⁷⁹

The IIS class met twice a week, on Tuesday and Thursday for ninety minutes. On one day an outside speaker taught the lesson. On the other day Gary reviewed the lesson and the students met in small discussion groups. They used the *Understanding World Evangelization* curriculum and added David Bryant’s new book, *In the Gap*. Seventy-seven excited students were enrolled in this first-ever IIS extension class. Some of the visiting professors for the Penn State class were Winter, Greg Livingstone, Roberta Winter, Walter Hannum, George Patterson, and William Miller.⁸⁰

The four men who had volunteered to go to Libya were in the IIS class, where they firmed up the Caleb Project concept and Declaration. The Caleb Project team went to the Zwemer Institute for Muslim Studies on the USCWM campus for training before going on to Libya. In the meantime, Jack Mattern, on staff with Campus Crusade at Penn State, traveled to several other campuses promoting the Caleb Project and the Caleb Declaration.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Patt, interview, August 7, 2005.

⁸⁰ Gary, interview, June 26, 2005.

⁸¹ Sjogren, interview, August 5, 2005.

In September of 1980 the Caleb Project team headed to Libya. Colonel Moammar al-Qadhafi (Gadhafi) was the strong-arm dictator ruling the country. Western nations had imposed sanctions on Libya for their international terrorist activities. Even though Americans were very unwelcome in Libya, the team was full of faith that God would make a way. They sought entrance via the Libyan embassy in Malta. Through a series of miracles, the team was issued a government invitation into the country to teach English. They worked hard to learn Arabic, make friends and lay a foundation for others to build on in the future in planting the church. When their year was up, Greg Fritz stayed on alone for a few more months until all Americans were urged to leave by President Reagan due to increasing tensions.⁸²

Fritz returned with a passion to mobilize his generation to reach those with no access to the gospel. He formalized the Caleb Project as a mission mobilization organization, conducting research and creating resources to aid and challenge the church in reaching the unreached. Caleb Project became widely-respected as they fulfilled a major role in mission mobilization.⁸³

Bob Sjogren left Libya for a tour around the world in order that he would have the peoples of the world in his heart, not just in his head. Greg Livingstone asked him to join North Africa Mission (NAM) for the purpose of recruiting many more students to the

⁸² *Caleb Project: Equipping the Church to Reach the Nations*, January 13, 2005, "Libya To Libya: Twenty-five Years of Prayer for a Nation," accessed July 30, 2005, http://www.calebproject.org/main.php/the_good_report_newsletter/libya_to_libya_-_twenty-five_years_of_prayer_for_a_nation (site discontinued).

⁸³ In 2007 the ministries of Caleb Project were absorbed by Pioneers, a mission agency focused upon the unreached. Former Caleb Project ministries are now Caleb Resources operating under the Pioneers umbrella. See <http://www.calebresources.org>.

mission. However the mission board did not feel they could handle the large number of new candidates that Livingstone and Sjogren were aiming to recruit. So they launched a special wing of NAM called NAM Associates. They desired to create an agency that was focused specifically on Muslims and had a team approach. NAM Associates soon became a distinct mission agency named Frontiers.⁸⁴

Bob Sjogren eventually went on to develop his own mission mobilization and teaching ministry which distills many of the Perspectives concepts. His teaching is shifting paradigms in churches across America and calling Christians to wrap their lives around the purposes of God in world evangelization. He states, “The principles taught in Perspectives of “blessed to be a blessing” and the understanding that the Abrahamic Covenant is the Great Commission in the Old Testament were foundational to me.”⁸⁵

It would be more than enough if the Penn State SCOWE and follow-up IIS course were a major factor in spawning the significant ministries of Frontiers, Caleb Project and Bob Sjogren’s popular mobilization/teaching ministry. But even more was birthed out of that season.

Edinburgh 1980, a global missionary conference focused exclusively on unreached people groups, occurred only months after the conclusion of the Penn State IIS. The Caleb Project influenced the student track of this conference. In fact, Sjogren left

⁸⁴ Sjogren, interview, August 5, 2005.

⁸⁵ Sjogren, interview, August 5, 2005.

Malta, where he was waiting for entrance into Libya, to go up to Edinburgh, Scotland to promote Caleb Project.⁸⁶

Fran Patt joined the staff of the U.S. Center for World Mission, returning to Pennsylvania to open the first regional office of the USCWM—the Eastern Regional Office. His first staff members were out of the Penn State class.⁸⁷

All of these students from the Penn State 1980 IIS class went on to influence and mobilize other individuals who in turn became key church and mission leaders with significant ministries focused on the unfinished task of world evangelization. This mobilization dynamic has been a hallmark of the IIS/Perspectives course from the beginning.

A Published Text

In preparing for the 1980 Penn State class, the USCWM staff realized that the IIS curriculum needed to be revised into a format more suitable for an extension class. Bruce Graham, director of IIS in Pasadena, began the process through organizing curriculum ideas and researching material. When he and Christy decided to move to India, Graham recruited Steve Hawthorne to develop the curriculum so that it could be presented as one course in other regions. At this time *Understanding World Evangelism* was the base curriculum, but the staff had been adding photocopied articles from other resources and books. As the frontier mission movement grew, IIS had grown with it, expanding into

⁸⁶ Sjogren, interview, August 5, 2005.

⁸⁷ Patt, interview, August 7, 2005.

four complete courses (Biblical, Historical, Cultural and Strategic) studying the burgeoning amount of material being written on the subjects. Now it was deemed more strategic to condense the course back down to a single semester course, still covering all four aspects but in a less extensive way, in order for more students to have access to the course.

Hawthorne was living on the USCWM campus serving in a volunteer capacity for IIS while studying at Fuller. It was a valuable time for USCWM personnel, learning from and interacting with missionary teachers like J. Christy Wilson, Jr., Harvey Conn, Charles Kraft, Paul Heibert, Don Richardson, Phil Elkins, Donald McGavran and others. The young staff on the USCWM campus had tremendous access to many prominent missiologists, but more importantly, they were regularly exposed to late breaking reports of what was unfolding in frontier mission situations. The growing community of the USCWM quickly became a place frequently visited by field missionaries. These practioners, often faithfully serving in obscurity, were always urged to bring a report of what was happening. Ralph Winter repeatedly offered his analysis and insights.

As a volunteer assigned to condense and codify the IIS curriculum, Hawthorne began to sense a calling to the task as well. At the student gathering of the Edinburgh '80 Congress, the students took turns sharing where in the world they were headed. Hawthorne remembers one friend saying he was going to Mauritania; another was going to China. "When they came around to me, I'm sure no one else would remember me

saying, 'I'm going to help put together this curriculum.' It just occurred to me that God was giving that project to me as my assignment. It was a holy moment for me."⁸⁸

With the Graham's leaving for India, Darrell and Linda Dorr (Winter's daughter) took over the administration of the IIS courses in Pasadena. Jay Gary assumed directorship of the total IIS program. The number of courses jumped to seven per year in 1980 and 1981. After the hugely successful Penn State course, Jay Gary attempted two other extension courses. Even though the classes were credit-bearing and initiated with a well-attended SCOWE, they did not emulate the success of the 1980 Penn State class. Gary realized that the key for successful extension classes was well-trained coordinators to run them. One successful program was run during that time, however, at a church near Goleta, California by Rick Love, who later became the international director of Frontiers mission agency.

Jay and Olgy Gary pursued a passion to train IIS alumni to coordinate extension classes all over the country. As a couple they went back to school to earn a Master's degree in curriculum development. Their focus was to develop a coordinator training curriculum.⁸⁹ In retrospect, the development of trained coordinators was as important to the success of the Perspectives course as the development of curriculum.

Under Gary's leadership, Hawthorne began to design learning objectives and gather articles for the codified text that would become the *Perspectives Reader and Study Guide*. The development process progressed from educational objective design, to

⁸⁸ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

⁸⁹ Gary, interview, June 26, 2005.

crafting a study guide, to production of the text. Most of the articles gathered were already in print somewhere, but in accordance with the educational objectives, they realized that some articles needed to be commissioned. The primary focus at that time was still expanding IIS courses into universities throughout the country.⁹⁰

By the spring of 1981 Hawthorne was working full-time on curriculum development. Winter sent him out to meet with numerous mission leaders in order to learn and obtain articles from them. Back at the Center, Hawthorne and Gary would present articles they selected to Winter for his review and approval. The title of the text, *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*, originated with Gary. They chose an innocuous title so that it could be a credit-bearing course in secular universities.

As the curriculum neared completion, Winter sent Hawthorne out to enlist certain well-known mission leaders to be published with Ralph Winter as co-editors. Hawthorne contacted each one of them and each one responded in like manner. They felt that the text was already well-edited and therefore it would not be appropriate for them to be identified as co-editor. They each proposed, however, that they could be listed as a contributing editor. When the curriculum team reported this back to Winter, he asked the team which one of them did the most work on the text. Everyone sat silent. Finally someone said, "Steve did the vast majority of the work." Much to Hawthorne's surprise, Winter replied, "You are the co-editor, then."⁹¹

⁹⁰ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

⁹¹ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

At that time Ralph and Roberta Winter were preoccupied with securing the finances to establish the USCWM; neither was able to be as deeply involved in the curriculum development as they wished. When asked about his role as co-editor of the *Perspectives* text, in his characteristically gracious way Winter replied,

It would be more accurate to say Bruce Graham, Jay Gary and Steve Hawthorne—and to some extent me—were the editors of the *Perspectives Reader*. I laid the groundwork from which they drew the documents, but I didn't select the documents. I objected to some and insisted upon others, but most of the work was not done by me. My name is just on the book because Steve said we need your name on the book.⁹²

In the summer of 1981 a group of influential mission professors met with Winter and the curriculum team on the USCWM campus. They had assembled the basic structure and articles and for several hours the team presented their work. To their delight the professors profusely praised the text. Hawthorne recollects, "I remember David Hesselgrave leaning back and saying, 'This is a book we have all been waiting for! Everyone will use it!'"⁹³

To ascertain how very much the *Perspectives* text was forward-thinking, Winter relates this revealing episode:

When we were readying the 1981 curriculum to be published, Steve Hawthorne and Jay Gary came to my house seeking my approval on the complete curriculum. I said, "We've got to put in there that the Great Commission is found in the Abrahamic Covenant." They responded, "Nobody else believes this; we can't put that in there." We were at an impasse. Then I was asked to speak at the dedication of the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College. Walter Kaiser was there also. I had recently seen his book on the Old Testament. In it he regularly mentioned "the Promise" referring to the Abrahamic Covenant. I approached him and said, "You know, the Abrahamic Covenant is not only a promise; it is a mandate, a

⁹² Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

⁹³ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

commission.” He said, “Well, you can call it a Great Commission if you want.” I was really quite surprised. I told him, “I can’t go around saying that. I need someone like you to say that. Do you have that in print?” He replied, “You quote me, and I’ll put it in print.” A few days later I received a cassette tape of a chapel talk that he had given at Trinity Seminary called “Israel’s Missionary Call.” We put that address by Kaiser in the *Perspectives Reader*. That was the single most provocative thing in the book in those days. That’s what shocked a lot of seminary students and is what gives people a totally new view of the Bible. We later found out that lots of other people down through history believed this, but at that time we were really on shaky ground.⁹⁴

The next hurdle was deciding whether or not they would actually typeset and print the book. The common approach for USCWM materials at the time was to photocopy the pages. Even William Carey Library (founded by Ralph and Roberta Winter on the USCWM campus) often did not typeset the books they printed. The purpose of William Carey Library was to enable small quantities of mission titles to be published by keeping production costs low. Therefore books were often typewritten according to templates rather than typeset. Due to the large amount of editing of existing articles and the increased shipping costs that would be incurred by a larger non-typeset volume, they realized that it would be more financially-feasible to typeset. After a great amount of discussion, Hawthorne recalls Dave Dougherty, who later became an agency executive with OMF International but at the time was Winter’s assistant, matter-of-factly announcing, “We’re going to typeset.” That was the end of the discussion, clearing the way for a major mission text to head to the printer.⁹⁵

The age of desktop publishing had not yet arrived. Indeed, inputting the text into a computer instead of typing it on a typewriter was a major invention at the time. Gary

⁹⁴ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

⁹⁵ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

pulled together many volunteers to prepare the text. Darrell Dorr managed the team, while Hawthorne gave oversight to the editing. The typeset machine had the ability to convert the original documents to typeset. Unfortunately there were many typos in the original manuscripts, which meant they were reproduced in the typeset copy. A team of sixteen people with exacto knives worked day and night correcting typos. Moreover, the galleys would come to them on large rolls; they had to cut and paste the galleys into book-size format. The goal was to have the text ready for release in December at Urbana '81. Many days stretched into nights with all-night "paste-up parties." A careful inspection of the first edition will reveal that some pages are a little crooked or a letter is cut off here and there because of a slip of the exacto knife.

Even Ralph Winter joined the paste-up parties. He remembers his shock while editing Tom and Elizabeth Brewster's article on "bonding." The Brewster's advocated that the rookie missionary should arrive three weeks early on the mission field without informing his mission board in order to bond with the people. Winter knew that article would draw fire from the mission boards!⁹⁶

Through the long and tedious labor of the entire team the deadline was met and the *Perspectives Reader* and *Study Guide* were introduced at Urbana '81. With the introduction of the new textbook, the course ceased to be called *Institute of International Studies* and became *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*. The staff approached John Kyle, InterVarsity Missions Director and director of Urbana '81, about holding a one-week intensive Perspectives class on the heels of Urbana, presented as an

⁹⁶ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

Urbana follow-on course. Kyle approved, but unfortunately, once again it did not receive the promotion desired. The course was held with only forty students in attendance.⁹⁷

Given the comprehensive and outstanding quality of the text, it is amazing that it was produced with so few financial resources. The publication of the *Perspectives Reader* and *Study Guide* was financed by IIS tuition income. The personnel working on the project all raised their own support. Hawthorne worked in a volunteer capacity, with his wife Barbara supplying the family income during the project. For all involved, it was truly a labor of love and passion for God's purposes to be realized through the evangelization of all peoples.

The stage was now set for the Perspectives course and textbook to expand in its reach, mobilizing and educating increasing numbers of students for world evangelization. It had been a challenging eight years (1974-1981) laying the foundations of the course, pursuing vision in the face of obstacles, calling out as a seemingly lonely voice in the wilderness to recognize and do something about the overlooked and unreached people groups of the world. Perspectives (in its original form of SIIS) came on the scene in the midst of a weary, pessimistic church and lost student generation. Yet God was neither absent nor silent. As Winter remarked, "We were not simply going upstream. The Holy Spirit produced a change, which affected us. We didn't affect the change; we were affected by that change and we simply responded to it."⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

⁹⁸ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

As the Perspectives course responded to the move of the Holy Spirit among the student generation in the latter half of the 1970s, so the U.S. Center for World Mission and Perspectives would continue to both respond to and catalyze change in mission thinking and involvement throughout the remainder of the century.

Developments in Missiology and Praxis

The Perspectives course reflected some major missiological paradigm shifts, popularizing them and sometimes pushing them a bit further. The course also sought to inform thoughtful and wise participation in some of the newer trends in mission praxis.

Historical Continuity and a Story for God

In the process of exploring the sociological and cultural differences, Donald McGavran had highlighted the reality of distinct ethnic groups within geo-political nations and the importance of these groupings to the advance of the gospel. Instead of asking how individuals become Christian, he asked how *peoples* become Christian. He noticed that when there was a large turning to Christ, it occurred *within* a people group, not easily crossing over into an adjacent group of another language, class or culture. Therefore, a church planting movement was needed within each ethno-linguistic group. McGavran advocated exploring what it takes to see people movements to Christ happen. This was a missiological turning point. He advocated this change of thinking in his seminal book, *The Bridges of God*, a large excerpt of which is reprinted in the Perspectives textbook.

Ralph Winter popularized McGavran's teachings, extrapolating them further. He traced the advance of the Christian movement throughout history, demonstrating that it has occurred via people movements to Christ within cultural basins. Using charts and statistics, he portrayed the continuity of God's purposes throughout history and how, instead of being in decline as popular thought asserted, the world was being increasingly evangelized. He unfolded this historical story of God's purposes being fulfilled in an article he wrote, "The Kingdom Strikes Back: Ten Epochs of Redemptive History," contained in the Perspectives text. Interestingly Winter had been musing on this thought for years, even before he became a missionary. When called to Fuller to teach mission history, he began an intense and comprehensive study of history. He reflects, "I had been thinking for years, is there anything coherently unfolding? I began to realize that there is a story here—an unfolding increasing influence that can be described."⁹⁹

Quantifying the Task

Winter also advocated for the flip-side of McGavran's teaching. McGavran taught to look for a "bridge of God"—converts from a people group—to encourage a people movement to Christ. He emphasized working among responsive peoples where there is a potential for a great harvest. Winter asked: What if there is no bridge of God? How do you reach a people group where there has never been a mission encounter? "I said to myself, we have to find out how many groups there are that don't have bridges, which are completely without a witness or church," Winter recalled. "The whole idea of quantifying

⁹⁹ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

the remaining task in terms of peoples that have not yet been penetrated was not yet in McGavran's thinking. His idea was if you do have a bridge, follow it; my idea was if you don't have a bridge, build it."¹⁰⁰

Combining these two concepts—(1) continuity of God's purposes being fulfilled throughout history through increasing numbers of people groups embracing Christ and (2) quantifying the number of people groups still lacking a church or movement to Christ—led to the profound idea of closure. The idea of completing the Great Commission was not novel; such a call had been issued at various times throughout history. However, the concept that the missionary task can be completed *by establishing a church-planting movement among every people group* was new.

The closure concept became a mobilization challenge. At the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization, Winter called on mission leaders to embrace the high priority of engaging the remaining people groups without a witness in order to complete world evangelization. The idea of closure calls one to think in terms of the *total task*, not just the area in which one feels burdened or feels called to or in which one has an interest. Yet even Winter noticed evolution in his own thinking in terms of closure. At Lausanne and the few years following, he pictured the large size of the remaining task, postulating that possibly 16,750 cultural-linguistic groups have yet to be penetrated. Later he reevaluated the immensity of the task; it dramatically shrinks when seen in proportion to the immense number of churches in the world. He calculated in 1980 that there were about 162

¹⁰⁰ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

churches for every unreached people group. "Instead of talking about the unfinished task, I started talking about the finish-able task."¹⁰¹

The Perspectives course, therefore, was founded on these major missiological paradigm shifts: missions focused on ethno-linguistic people groups rather than geopolitical countries; the goal of a church-planting movement within every people group; continuity of God's purpose being fulfilled down through history; understanding the missionary task in terms of the total task which can be completed; the social sciences could assist in understanding the task; and mobilization to complete the Great Commission through identifying and engaging the unreached people groups. Perspectives also raised the bar of expectation for the average Christian. All Christians can be "World Christians," as David Bryant described it. Every Christian, not just those in "full-time Christian service," has a valuable and strategic role to play in completion of the missionary task.¹⁰²

These key concepts were taught in the Fuller School of World Mission and became part of a wider evangelical consensus, being infused into the Lausanne movement. However, Perspectives was unique in that pulled it all together as a package. Yet neither Winter nor Hawthorne anticipated that the Perspectives course would become so influential nor the Perspectives textbook would become such a utilized text.

¹⁰¹ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

¹⁰² Hawthorne, "History of the Perspectives Course," speech, July 14, 2004.

Developments in Mission Praxis

Other trends emerged and matured during the last two decades of the twentieth century, which Perspectives incorporated and contributed to in their development. The focus on unreached people groups highlighted the need for greater research and development of new strategies to reach the Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Chinese worlds. This became a major focus of the U.S. Center for World Mission. The Perspectives course educated churches and new missionaries concerning the need to attempt new strategies in order to be successful in the huge sphere of major non-Christian religions.

In the 1970s the role of pioneer church planting had dwindled on the mission field, as the vast majority of missionaries were serving in already reached areas where the church was established. The USCWM and the Perspectives course emphasized the urgency of missionaries training to be pioneer church planters. At the time there were very few North American models of church planting in which prospective missionaries could participate and learn. With the increased emphasis on the unreached, seminaries and missionary training schools gradually began to add church-planting courses to their curricula.¹⁰³

At the beginning of the 1980s, the utilization of businessmen and businesswomen as missionaries was an unexplored strategy. With the exception of medicine and education, generally among evangelicals, a missionary was expected to have a theological degree and pastoral experience. A 1984 article on mission trends published in *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* mentions early excitement about the “new” role of

¹⁰³ Merrill, "It's Our 20th Birthday."

tentmakers, but also adds that it does not yet seem to have generated enough interest to be a trend.¹⁰⁴ Yet as early as the first edition of the text in 1981, *Perspectives* was advocating for business missionaries.

Changing technological and sociological trends in America also greatly impacted the perception and function of missions. The expanding ease of global mobility and communication lit the fuse of the short-term mission boom. First university ministries and then churches began to regularly send out short-term mission teams. Such exposure and experience fueled interest in continued mission involvement on the local level. Mission outreach moved from a back page small print announcement to a front and center emphasis in many churches. The explosion of short-term mission trips may have begun in the student world, but it could not be contained there. The huge American demographic of Baby Boomers was entering middle-age. As the former activists of the 1960s, they had not given up their spirit of activism and desire to make a difference in the world. They were not content to simply write checks to support missionaries as their parents' had done; they wanted active involvement. Through their influence and leadership, churches began to ask for and assume a greater amount of involvement and decision-making concerning the missionaries they supported. As interest in and involvement of the local church in missions escalated, the role of the mission pastor arose. Interestingly, a major organ for educating church pastors and mission committees, ACMC (Advancing Churches in Missions Commitment),¹⁰⁵ arose in 1974, the same year as SIIS, the

¹⁰⁴ Merrill, "It's Our 20th Birthday."

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.acmc.org>.

forerunner of Perspectives. Not surprisingly, Ralph Winter also had a hand in its development.¹⁰⁶

Baby Boomers not only pushed their churches into greater active involvement in missions, they began to volunteer for the mission field themselves. At the end of the century a significant new movement arose as those in their forties, fifties and sixties left their careers and headed to the mission field as a second career. Recognizing this huge potential of mature adults with developed skills, mission agencies partnered with the newly established Finisher's Project¹⁰⁷ to help prepare and steer this wave of new breed of missionary.

Although the Perspectives course encourages professional excellence in carrying out the missionary task, it set forth the then uncommon idea that every Christian can fulfill a strategic role in the completion of the Great Commission. And while the Perspectives course called for renewed honor for mission structures, it also encouraged local church activism. The Perspectives course, as it expanded into multiple cities, multiple churches and multiple denominations in the last two decades of the twentieth century, became a prime catalyst of mission awareness, education and mobilization in North America.

¹⁰⁶ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.finishers.org>.

Non-Western Sending

The most significant development of the late twentieth century, however, did not occur in North America. Practically unnoticed by the American church (but not by the mission agencies) the global Christian movement shifted from the north and the west to the south and the east of our globe. An explosion of new believers in the southern hemisphere and in Asia and a corresponding decline of Christian faith in the West suddenly shifted the bulk of Christianity out of its traditional heartlands.¹⁰⁸ Along with this enormous growth of the church came the emergence of non-Western mission agencies and missionaries. Not only had the church become truly global, the mission of the church became a truly global enterprise at the close of the century. The development of non-Western mission agencies, along with the renewed focus on the frontiers, eased the contentious church/mission controversy that had been raging since the 1960s. As both the non-Western church and the Western missionary shifted their focus to the yet unreached, the tension over competing roles of the missionary and the national pastor began to lessen. A greater sense of cooperation and networking developed. That greater level of cooperation was not only between the West and the non-West, but amazingly between Western denominations and mission agencies as well.¹⁰⁹

Another contentious issue also began to subside somewhat in the latter part of century. The red-hot issue of evangelism versus social responsibility began to be seen

¹⁰⁸ For an excellent description of this dramatic development in our lifetime see Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁹ Merrill, "It's Our 20th Birthday."

from a more holistic perspective. While evangelism was still considered primary among most evangelicals, works of mercy, compassion, relief, community development, and efforts for justice, peace and reconciliation gained a new respectability. Mission agencies began to view all elements as part of taking the whole gospel to the whole world. The Lausanne Movement provided a space for dialogue on this issue by holding a Consultation on the Relationship between Evangelism and Social Responsibility (CRESR) in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1982. At this consultation evangelicals of varying persuasions came together for a week of discussion that built bridges of mutual understanding and respect. The Lausanne document which ensued from this consultation helped clear the air and pave the way for more unified efforts in mission.¹¹⁰

Focus on Unreached People Groups

In terms of mission strategy, however, no development in the latter half of the twentieth century is as significant as the focus on unreached people groups. In a 1984 EMQ article that actually was critical of the concept of people groups, editor Jim Reapsome, nevertheless, reveals how powerfully the concept had caught on within only a short decade:

No innovation in missionary thinking has so profoundly affected the basic concept of missions since theological education by extension burst on the scene in the 1960's. But in the last decade what might be called the "unreached people groups" strategy has shaken the missions community to the core. . . . After the first tentative "baby steps" at Lausanne, this new missions concept soon became a

¹¹⁰ Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization and World Evangelical Fellowship, "Lop 21: Evangelism and Social Responsibility: An Evangelical Commitment," The Lausanne Movement, accessed March 5, 2012, <http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/lops/79-lop-21.html>.

walking youngster, and then a full grown Olympic runner. . . . The prime movers and shakers were, and continue to be, the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE), World Vision, through its Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center (MARC), and the U.S. Center (USC) for World Missions. . . . Their most effective selling piece and teaching tool, which has been widely influential among churches and schools, is the book, *That Everyone May Hear*, now out in a third revision, and the accompanying audiovisual adaptation in two parts. LCWE and MARC have also initiated conferences and study task forces, spearheaded by Peter Wagner and Edward Dayton.

Equally effective has been the speaking, writing, and publishing of Ralph Winter, who founded the U.S. Center for World Mission in Pasadena specifically to further this missionary emphasis. Winter put his toe into the water at Lausanne. From there, he took a monumental high dive and bought an entire college campus in Pasadena, California, where he has assembled a staff dedicated to researching and promoting the idea of evangelizing unreached people groups.

There is no sign of diminishing influence. Local churches and young people interested in missionary careers eagerly follow the “unreached peoples” theme. Sending agencies face hard questions from constituents about whether or not they are indeed aiming at unreached peoples. Ralph Winter’s “Unreached Peoples of the World” chart became the yardstick by which recruiting, planning and sending are measured.

Mission agencies and missionaries have been forced to look at the world’s peoples in a wholly new perspective. This has stimulated an enormous amount of rethinking about basic strategies. Some missions are moving away from the traditional “station” approach to a “people team” approach. Some are subordinating all ministries to that of planting churches within specific cultures. The new approach serves to motivate and mobilize both national churches and new missionaries.

The “unreached people groups” movement has helped to sensitize the church not only to the need of completing the Great Commission, but also to the possibility of doing it.¹¹¹

By 1980 the focus on unreached people groups had gained such momentum that two global-level mission convocations were dedicated to the issue. The year 1980 marked the seventy-year anniversary of the historic Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference. The Edinburgh 1910 conference was the outcome of the Student Volunteer Movement’s focus on completing the Great Commission “in our generation” by sending

¹¹¹ James W. Reapsome, “People Groups: Beyond the Push to Reach Them Lie Some Contrary Opinions,” *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, January 1984, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-233/1271>.

missionaries to the “frontiers” where the gospel had yet to be proclaimed. Conferees at the 1910 conference sought to divide up the unreached portions of the world (geographically) between the world’s mission agencies so that they could get the job done without competition or overlap. To mark the anniversary of and continue in the spirit of Edinburgh 1910, the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization held a consultation of invited evangelical leaders in Pattaya, Thailand in June 1980. The focus was to build upon the events of Lausanne ’74, assess the state of world evangelization and develop strategies for reaching the unreached peoples of the world. It was designed to be a learning event with specialized units of study.

In preparation for the meeting, several documents outlining the people group approach to world evangelization were distributed to participants, including Ed Dayton’s book, *That Everyone May Hear*. Yet in spite of this preparation, it became clear at the congress that there was still confusion of the people group approach by the church leaders. “Peter Wagner observed afterward . . . ‘Most of the mini-consultations took the more traditional approaches of countries, geographical regions, religions or individuals as the target of evangelistic strategy planning.’”¹¹² Yet even though the 1980 Pattaya Consultation on World Evangelization ended without any concrete plans of how to do the job, the concept of reaching the world’s unreached people groups was furthered among global church leaders. Many substantial documents issued from the Pattaya consultation

¹¹² Wade T. Coggins, "COWE: An Assessment of Progress and Work Left Undone," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, October 1980, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-228/1235>.

in the form of the Lausanne Occasional Papers, representing the thinking of evangelical leaders at the time.

The genius of the Edinburgh 1910 conference was that it was a meeting of mission agency representatives who had the authority and resources to both make and implement evangelization plans, rather than a popular meeting of church leaders. In like manner Ralph Winter issued a call for a consultation of global mission agencies to meet in Edinburgh, Scotland in October 1980 to grapple with plans and strategies to reach the unreached. The Edinburgh 1980 meeting built upon the documents that came out of Pattaya and sought to develop concrete plans to be implemented by the mission agencies present. Unlike the Edinburgh 1910 meeting, the Edinburgh 1980 meeting included dozens of non-Western mission agency representatives.¹¹³ That marked a significant step forward for truly global mission agency cooperation. Over the next two decades several more global level meetings, both large and small, were convened to assess progress, facilitate networking and cooperation, and develop strategies for the unreached people groups of the world.

Much progress has been achieved as a result of this level of global cooperation and focus. One of the driving forces was the slogan that originated in part at Edinburgh 1980, "A Church for Every People and the Gospel for Every Person by the Year 2000." As momentum increased, a networking organization sprang into being: the AD 2000 and Beyond Movement. The AD 2000 Movement became an umbrella organization through

¹¹³ Ralph D. Winter, "1980: Year of Three Mission Congresses," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, April 1980, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.emisdirect.com/emq/issue-226/1219>.

which global mission agencies and churches networked and partnered with the single goal of completing the Great Commission by establishing church-planting movements within the remaining unreached people groups. Co-chaired by non-Westerners—Luis Bush from Argentina and Thomas Wang of China—the AD 2000 and Beyond Movement sponsored many regional and global working meetings, the largest being the Global Consultation on World Evangelization (GCOWE) in Korea in 1995 and again in South Africa in 1997. The focus and energy generated by the AD 2000 Movement resulted in numerous new initiatives among unreached people groups and a great global push toward closure. Under the AD 2000 umbrella, the Joshua Project was established to collect and distribute research on “1739 people groups most needing a church-planting effort” in order to encourage cooperative church planting efforts among “every ethno-linguistic people group of over 10,000 individuals.”¹¹⁴

As the century and millennium came to a close in the year 2000, it became obvious that the goal of establishing a mission beachhead in every people group had not been accomplished. The AD 2000 Movement felt a need to disband as a formal organization, however, the impetus they generated continued on in countries, regions and the world. It continues on today, in both the West and in the exploding number of non-Western mission agencies, as increased efforts are made to penetrate and plant Christ-worshipping communities within every people group.

¹¹⁴ *AD 2000 and Beyond Movement*, June 30, 1999, "AD 2000 and Beyond Movement Overview," accessed June 22, 2005, <http://www.ad2000.org/ad2Kbroc.htm> (site discontinued).

Growing Influence, Growing Pains

Almost all Perspectives coordinators serve in a volunteer capacity. Unseen by most, they donate untold hours of prayer and planning and hard work to pulling off a successful Perspectives class. Why? Not for monetary reward. Not for glory—it is an uphill battle to catch the attention of most churches. They do it because of their passion to see Jesus receive the reward of His sufferings: the worship of all peoples. They do it for the joy of multiplying their lives into other Kingdom-seekers. They do it because they themselves have been radically changed and they want to “open the eyes” of others also.

Course coordinators are the energy and the backbone of the Perspectives course. Without them, the course would still be stuck in Pasadena, limited to the few individuals who could afford take a semester off to live and study at the USCWM. The amazing success of the Penn State class in 1980 galvanized the U. S. Center staff to create a mechanism whereby Perspectives could be conducted nationally as an extension class. Jay and Olgy Gary set about creating such a mechanism.

Extension and Expansion

While completing their master’s degree in curriculum development, the Garys’ designed an in-depth coordinator training curriculum for the Perspectives course. It systemized the process of conducting a Perspectives program and trained alumni to function as adult educators in a coordinating role. They trained eleven alumni in the first coordinator training workshop in the winter of 1983. For the next three years, Jay Gary conducted bi-annual week-long coordinator training workshops at the USCWM, training the first 200 Perspectives coordinators. Some significant ministry leaders of today were

some of the early trainees, such as Steve Shadrach, founder of Student Mobilization and the Traveling Team, discipling college students on dozens of campuses in missions, and Ron Luce, founder of Teen Mania, a huge youth ministry mobilizing thousands of teenagers to mission involvement.¹¹⁵

Training coordinators to conduct extension classes revolutionized the Perspectives program. The evidence can be seen in the statistics. Up until 1983, the largest number of classes conducted in a single year was seven—mostly on the USCWM campus. With the introduction of coordinator training, thirteen classes were held in 1983. As trained coordinators fanned out across the country, the number of annual classes swelled. Thirty-three courses were conducted in 1984, with an increase again to forty-four in 1985.

Around 1986 coordinator training expanded beyond Pasadena into regions of the United States and Canada. Recognizing that many of the best-suited people to be coordinators were not free to take a week off for training, the coordinator training was condensed into a weekend format in 1987. These two strategic decisions, to shorten the training and expand it regionally triggered the future growth of Perspectives.¹¹⁶

Changing Audience

Wes Tullis assumed responsibility for the national Perspectives program from 1984 through 1986. Under his leadership the course underwent another strategic development. As coordinator training expanded regionally, Tullis actively promoted the

¹¹⁵ Gary, interview, June 26, 2005.

¹¹⁶ Lee Purgason, interview by author, email, June 21, 2005.

idea of hosting Perspectives classes in local churches. Up until this time Perspectives was designed for and focused upon college students, generally hosted on or near a campus. Ralph Winter's original intention was to host the course at one location—eventually the USCWM—with a high enough quality to issue credit that would be transferable into any university from which a student came. He envisioned thousands of students taking it at one location or via independent study, rather than a strategy of multiple extension locations. As Winter turned over the administration of the program to young and inexperienced staff who were not as adept in contacting professors and acquiring credit, gradually less and less schools extended credit. Winter regrets that the strong focus on students and the acceptance of credit within secular universities was lost. As Winter stated, "You can only do so much with the limited staff that we have."¹¹⁷ Fran Patt adds, "Many of those involved in the early days were in campus ministries on secular campuses. But everyone got older and no longer had connections to the campuses. Instead they had connections to the churches. The USCWM never recruited someone committed to staying in the student world."¹¹⁸

In order to accommodate multiple extension courses, the Perspectives course was shortened to fifteen weeks granting only three semester units of credit. "It was an agonizing decision to collapse a sixteen unit curriculum down to three units," commented Winter. "We had to decide whether to teach a few students a lot or a lot of students a

¹¹⁷ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

¹¹⁸ Patt, interview, August 7, 2005.

little.”¹¹⁹ While recognizing the multiplication factor of today’s Perspectives classes held as extension courses in churches across the country, David Bryant laments what was lost when classes ceased being residential in format. He maintains that students living, eating, studying, praying and worshipping together produced a much deeper and sustained transformation of worldview and commitment.¹²⁰ Bruce Graham concurs, “The efforts at solidifying the course curriculum and the training of coordinators began to help spread the course content, but I believe it took something away from the movement mentality.”¹²¹ The early SIIS / IIS / Perspectives classes had an electrifying sense of being part of another Student Volunteer Movement for their generation. They were in league, working together for a cause bigger than their own lives. The semester-long, in-residence class with week-long exposure to the lives of the teaching professors, followed by an experiential cross-cultural ministry trip was a powerful format indeed. What was lost in depth was replaced with accessibility and breadth. One can argue which pattern is more worthwhile, however, thousands of pastors, churches and employed adults are grateful that the rich life-changing education they received in Perspectives was made accessible to them.

Into Other Lands

Barely a decade after its founding, the Perspectives course moved southward, crossing the border into the Spanish-speaking world. Jonathan Lewis, serving with the

¹¹⁹ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

¹²⁰ Bryant, interview, August 15, 2005.

¹²¹ Graham, interview, July 13, 2005.

International Missionary Training Network of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA) Mission Commission, redesigned and condensed the Perspectives text into a three-volume workbook format called *Misión Mundial* (*World Mission* in English). *Misión Mundial* integrated articles from the *Perspectives Reader* with guide notes and questions into a workbook style. It was first published in Argentina in 1986. Almost simultaneously, Luis Bush, international director of the AD 2000 and Beyond Movement, reprinted the first volume of *Misión Mundial*, which explores the biblical and historical basis of mission, and distributed it as pre-congress reading for the three thousand participants of the 1987 COMIBAM Congress in Brazil. The COMIBAM Congress gathered leaders from every Latin American country, Spain and Portugal to mobilize and develop strategies for missionary outreach from Latin America into unreached peoples and regions. *Misión Mundial* has continued to be widely used in the Latin world, both north and south of the Mexican border.¹²²

Meanwhile, on the other side of the globe, a retired architect named Don Cowey launched the Perspectives course in New Zealand. His pastor had taken the course in the United States, and persuaded Don to travel to Pasadena for coordinator training. The first Kiwi course was held in 1987 with forty-five students; it created an immediate explosion of interest. The next year recorded two hundred students in six classes, and by 1989

¹²² Jonathan Lewis, interview by author, email, August 1, 2005.

twenty classes enrolled six hundred students; this in a total national population of only three million.¹²³

The course had such an impact on the country that Patrick Johnstone commented in the New Zealand entry of the 1993 version of *Operation World*, "The missions vision of the New Zealand church is an example to many other lands. A new surge of interest has followed the *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* courses, and many new candidates for missions are coming forward."¹²⁴ These early forays into other cultures were forerunners of the international expansion that was to come.

Stabilization and Growth

In 1986, as the Perspectives class was experiencing substantial growth due to the growing cadre of trained coordinators, Lee Purgason assumed the directorship of the national Perspectives office. Under his fourteen year leadership (1986-2000) the program was established and experienced over 150 percent growth in the number of classes held each year. The curriculum also underwent two revisions during his watch.

Purgason joined the USCWM staff in 1980 at the age of twenty-three. Like so many before him, he was involved in InterVarsity as a college student, went to Urbana, where he heard about the USCWM. IIS was part of his required orientation for joining staff. He still remembers the impact the speakers and his small group leader, Darrell

¹²³ Bob Hall in an Interview, "Global Perspective Grabs New Zealand," *Mission Frontiers*, March/April, 1990, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.missionfrontiers.org/issue/article/global-perspective-grabs-new-zealand>.

¹²⁴ Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World*, 5th ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1993), 415.

Dorr, had on his life. His class, like so many in the early days, was followed by a cross-cultural outreach into Mexico. Even though his class was small, a number of his classmates ended up on the mission field.¹²⁵

Purgason oversaw the development of large numbers of new coordinators and Perspectives speakers. As the Perspectives coordinator training was condensed and then regionalized in the 1986-1988 time frame, the number of classes held annually began to take off: from forty-four classes in 1986 to seventy classes in 1990. Coordinators generally emerge out of Perspectives classes, identified and mentored by existing coordinators and formally trained by the Perspectives program staff.

Coordinators are one leg of a three-legged Perspectives stool. The curriculum is a second leg. And the instructors are the third leg necessary for the Perspectives class to stand. Today there is an extensive list of qualified Perspectives teachers. Originally Perspectives speakers were recruited by personal referral of the USCWM staff, especially Ralph Winter. The Association of Evangelical Professors of Mission also provided a number of highly qualified speakers. Increasingly speakers are obtained via coordinator referrals of those in their area who are both qualified and good presenters. As the coordinators were regionalized, so increasingly were the speakers. Yet, there are still quite a number of speakers who travel nationally teaching considerable numbers of classes each semester.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Lee Purgason, personal recollections at a celebration gathering on the thirtieth anniversary of the *Perspectives* course (Pasadena, CA, July 13, 2004).

¹²⁶ Purgason, interview, June 21, 2005.

A stool is only as good as its three legs; over the years it became apparent that the curriculum leg needed some work. In the spring of 1989 Hawthorne realized that the Perspectives text that he had given his life to eight years earlier was in need of revision. So much had happened in missions over a decade. He began to lay plans to work on a major revision. He lined up forty intercessors to pray for him for forty weeks while he worked on the revision.

During the first week of those forty weeks of prayer came a surprising turn of events. His friend and colleague at Caleb Project, Greg Fritz, counseled Hawthorne to step out of active ministry, even the Perspectives revision project for a season in order to regain his spiritual equilibrium. In a step of obedience he took a sabbatical to develop intimacy with God. "It was the turn of the page to the best days of my life. I needed to be revised before I could be a reviser."¹²⁷

During his sabbatical season a theology of worship and the glory of God began to emerge within Hawthorne's thinking. Following his sabbatical he wrote the momentous article "The Story of His Glory."¹²⁸ That article not only expressed Hawthorne's passion and motivation, it defined the direction in which the Perspectives course was to evolve.

¹²⁷ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

¹²⁸ Steven C. Hawthorne, "The Story of His Glory," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena: CA: William Carey Library, 2009).

Setbacks

In 1991, in the absence of Hawthorne's involvement, the U.S. Center for World Mission took up the challenge of revising the Perspectives text. Ralph Winter sent out letters to the authors of the articles in the *Reader*, asking them if they wanted to add anything to their article to reflect new insights since the original edition. The *Study Guide* was edited down from twenty to fifteen lessons, yet in reality all the content of the twenty lessons was squeezed into fifteen. Nor were the articles in the *Reader* really edited. Many things were added, but not much was subtracted. As a result, the 1992 revision was bloated with lengthy articles and too heavy a workload for the average Perspectives student. The 1992 edition is wryly referred to now as the "Revised Add-dition." As Purgason reflected, "We did not have, or failed to take the time to trim back some of the longer articles, nor the time or clout to negotiate shorter versions. We also did not pare back the requirement for certificate students as opposed to the credit reading load."¹²⁹ The 1992 edition was not a true revision as it did not begin with a revision of educational objectives.

The result was damaging to the Perspectives course. As Perspectives increasingly attracted a church rather than a college audience, a shift occurred in the numbers of students taking the course for credit. Because the workload of the certificate level had become so overwhelming, more and more participants simply audited the class, reading very little, if at all. Those who tried to complete all the assignments were choking on it. It did not take long before Perspectives coordinators began to clamor for a lighter

¹²⁹ Purgason, interview, June 21, 2005.

educational tool. One possibility was already in print. Jonathan Lewis' *Misión Mundial* was published in its English version as *World Mission*. This three-volume workbook was derived from the Perspectives course, with heavily condensed articles and an integrated study guide written by Lewis. *Misión Mundial* was a simplified form of Perspectives and was intended for a local church and overseas audience. It was simple and useful, but was not the credit-bearing curriculum Perspectives was designed to be. Several North American Perspectives classes began to use *World Mission* for their audit and certificate students, while continuing to use the *Perspectives Reader* and *Study Guide* as the credit-bearing text. It was sloppy, and the two different texts did not match up in lesson format, creating extra work for the coordinator, but it kept the non-credit students engaged.

One of the most entrepreneurial of veteran Perspectives coordinators, Meg Crossman in Phoenix, Arizona, decided more could and should be done to meet the need of a "lay-friendly" text. She reshaped Jonathan Lewis' curriculum for an American audience. The result was a curriculum she entitled *Worldwide Perspectives*. Crossman's curriculum quickly caught on in Perspectives classes across America. By the late 1990s, more Perspectives classes were using a curriculum other than the official text.

It became painfully clear that a true revision was needed of the Perspectives curriculum. Not only was the 1992 "Add-dition" unwieldy, numerous articles were completely out of date. Ralph Winter also had new articles that he wanted to include in a renewed curriculum. Mission strategies to the least reached had continued to develop and needed to be included. But a deeper, more underlying purpose would surface in the complete overhaul of the curriculum.

A Shift in Focus

By 1997 Steve Hawthorne was ready to engage a thorough-going revision of the Perspectives text. He sat down with Ralph Winter to discuss the changing audience, the changing content and the need for changing the focal point of the course. He sought permission from Winter to reengage the Perspectives material and construct a complete overhaul. That conversation was the first articulation of what became the sixteen Core Ideas of the Perspectives course.¹³⁰ (See Appendix B)

Hawthorne's perspective had been radically altered during his sabbatical. In a season of deep intimacy with God, God had sown His passion for His own glory within Hawthorne's soul. Missions is about God receiving the love and worship He so desires from the nations. Perspectives had been so focused on the mandate of the unfinished task that the vision was cast more in anthropocentric rather than theocentric terms; i.e., what remains for *us* to do rather than what God has determined that *He* is going to accomplish and invites us to partner with Him in accomplishing. That fresh perspective needed to be infused into all aspects of the revision.

Hawthorne devoted 1998 to working on a third edition of the Perspectives text, along with a small revision team. They began by redesigning the educational objectives, identifying sixteen Core Ideas that are the "crown jewels" of the Perspectives course. From the Core Ideas they developed the learning objectives and then selected the articles.¹³¹ The team was continually contacting global experts and practioners reviewing

¹³⁰ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

¹³¹ Hawthorne, "History of the Perspectives Course," speech, July 14, 2004.

the latest missiological principles and practices. They also solicited editorial input from veteran coordinators and instructors. Although the working team itself was small, they included the input from quite a number of people in the revision effort.¹³²

A change in focus to a more theocentric view demanded a change in structure. The 1992 edition of *Perspectives* shortened the Biblical Section down to just three lessons, essentially skipping from Abraham to Jesus, with not much in between. The 1999 revision shortened the Cultural Section instead, and extended the Biblical Section to five lessons in order to develop a full-orbed biblical foundation. Previously scripture references to God's concern for the nations were picked out of the Bible in sort of a singular fashion, with the implication that since God is concerned for the nations, so should we be also. Hawthorne contributed his seminal article, "The Story of His Glory," to reveal a story throughout the entire Bible, which is still unfolding today—the story of God's work on His own behalf to gain glory and worship from all peoples. The focus is on God, not on our compassion or activism. That insight permeated the entire third edition.¹³³

Nearly forty percent of the material included in the 1999 *Reader* was new to the book. Modular in design, the *Study Guide* became more flexible, allowing three different learning levels (audit, certificate and credit) to use the same material. The fifteen lesson format was retained, but each lesson was shortened to about thirty pages of reading for the certificate level.

¹³² Purgason, interview, June 21, 2005.

¹³³ Hawthorne, interview, June 11, 2005.

More than design and content change, the third edition presented the biblical hope of God's purposes being completed in history clearer and brighter than ever before. The seeds of this passion were always there, but it wasn't until the 1999 edition that they came forth in full bloom. It reflected a deep paradigm shift. Previously mission communication put the world's vast need and individual verses before people and challenged them as to why we should do mission. Mobilization was a response to duty and obligation. The third edition of *Perspectives* clearly put God's story from Genesis to Revelation and all history in between before people and calls them to destiny and the privilege of joining God on His mission, which most certainly will not fail. The difference is between task and purpose, guilt and hope. There is still a holy responsibility to obey the command of God; there is still a duty to fulfill the mandate. But the calling to biblical hope, purpose and destiny is integrated throughout the third edition as the life-giving power of the commission. This infusion of hope is the most significant development from the preceding editions.

The result was a deep and abiding sense of purpose sown into the students. Lee Purgason elaborates, "People came out saying, 'Now I understand what God is about' rather than 'Now I see what remains to be done.' Because of that there was more of a grace-infused propelling into service, not because there is work to be done and people are dying, but because this is what God is doing and I want to join Him."¹³⁴

The third edition (and first true revision) of the *Perspectives Reader and Study Guide* was released in 1999. The first semester after its introduction about two-thirds of

¹³⁴ Purgason, interview, June 21, 2005.

the Perspectives classes resumed using the *Reader* and *Study Guide* as their curriculum, and by 2001 almost ninety percent of the classes were back to using the official curriculum.

Beginning in 1999, the annual number of Perspectives classes shot up. From seventy-five classes the year before, ninety-five classes were conducted in 1999, 110 in the year 2000, with another leap to 147 classes in 2001. In 2004, on the thirtieth anniversary of the Perspectives course, 179 classes were held across North America with over six thousand enrolled.¹³⁵

As the calendar turned the page to a new millennium, Perspectives had become a highly regarded mission mobilization, education and mission-shaping force in global outreach from America and increasingly around the world. The Perspectives text was now in use in a large number of Bible schools and seminaries in the United States, and could be found as a core text in many international schools. Graduates from Perspectives had fanned out across the globe, implementing the tools they learned in Perspectives. Many alumni were assuming leadership roles in mission agencies, educational institutions and churches. Perspectives shaped their thinking and the programs and strategies they implemented. What would the new millennium hold and how would Perspectives continue to grow and develop?

¹³⁵ Bruce Koch, interview by author, email, September 26, 2005.

Into The Third Millennium

In the first decade of the new millennium, the term “unreached people groups” became commonplace, even among the average lay person who does not truly know what is meant by it. However, among mission agencies and leaders, the concept of reaching the unreached people groups became a primary strategy and goal. Indeed, many new mission agencies came into being in order to focus specifically on the final frontiers of unreached people groups—mission agencies such as Frontiers, Pioneers, Christar, Anglican Frontier Missions, Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship, Mission to Unreached Peoples, to name a few, along with publications such as *The International Journal of Frontier Missions*. Today the discussion is more about specific strategies to reach the unreached. Ralph Winter expounded,

We used to feel like we were pushing a heavy wagon uphill, promoting unreached peoples. But now the hill has been crested and we are running down the other side trying to keep up with the momentum. Unreached peoples is not something we have to promote anymore. . . . Now we are more than ever focused on revision of mission strategy. Now many more people are getting into missions without knowing what they are doing. The biggest problem now is not recruitment, but orientation.¹³⁶

Global change is occurring at a rate faster than ever before. The theory and practice of mission are not exempt from such change; indeed to stay relevant, mission endeavors must not only respond to such changes, but seek to anticipate and prepare for developments on the horizon. Recognizing that the largest blocks of unreached people groups are Hindu, Buddhist or Muslim, much discussion and experimentation are transpiring concerning appropriate and contextualized strategies of evangelism and

¹³⁶ Ralph Winter, interview, June 20, 2005.

church planting. Significant people group movements to Christ are occurring in certain areas giving renewed hope that the most difficult unreached groups are not unreachable. Local churches are awakening to their responsibility to do more than “pay and pray” and are taking ownership of their God-given assignment for active participation in seeing the Great Commission fulfilled. This is entailing a new mode of partnership between established mission agencies and the local church; it has birthed a whole new set of issues to be addressed, but has also given way to a more dynamic synergy of effort. Increasingly the role of the business professional is being promoted and validated as a third partner in today’s global mission endeavors. The role of the Internet and expanding technological resources is changing the way mission is done at many levels.

The change in the composition of the world’s mission force also reflects the work of God over the last century. There are now more non-Westerners serving as missionaries than Westerners.¹³⁷ The historically-conditioned impression of a missionary as a white Westerner is no longer accurate. The day of global partnership is here, yet new roles and attitudes must be learned to achieve true mutual cooperation and collaboration. Nor is it expected any longer that new recruits to mission service will be young. Middle-age “Baby Boomers” are entering second careers in the frontlines on the mission field or in supporting roles in the home office. An entire organization, The Finishers Project, has grown up around this trend. Yet the young people are by no means absent! A worshipping, passionate, globally-focused youth generation is emerging in cultures

¹³⁷ Ralph D. Winter and Bruce A. Koch, "Finishing the Task: The Unreached Peoples Challenge," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 531.

around the world. They thirst for God's glory and long for Jesus to receive the worship of all nations. Many wonder if another Student Volunteer Movement is in the offing.

The AD 2000 and Beyond Movement dissolved at the turn of the millennium but a new global, mostly non-Western led movement sprang from its roots: *Ethne to Ethne*. Hosting their first global gathering in March of 2006, *Ethne to Ethne* focuses on the world's least-evangelized people groups through evangelistic and holistic cooperative mission efforts and prayer initiatives.¹³⁸ The global prayer movement also continues unabated, with increasing leadership coming from non-Western countries. A case in point, the huge Global Day of Prayer held every spring sprang from South Africa, spreading to the rest of the world.¹³⁹ Increasingly global Christian movements are being initiated or led by non-Western leaders.

Struggling to Catch Up

As an education and awareness tool, the Perspectives course contributed to many of these global mission developments, while also reaping from the mounting mission interest that resulted. However, as the number of Perspectives courses and students proliferated following the 1999 curriculum revision, the national Perspectives office found itself struggling to catch up. Adding to the challenge, the steady leadership of the Perspectives program experienced turnover. At the turn of the millennium, Lee Purgason turned over the directorship of the Perspectives Study Program to Steve Halley.

¹³⁸ <http://ethne.net>.

¹³⁹ <http://www.globaldayofprayer.com>.

Halley was mobilized toward mission among the unreached as a college student in the mid-eighties. When he first took the Perspectives class, coordinated by his Nazarene pastor father, it was not so much new information to him as a continuation upon his journey. After graduation Halley and his wife joined the staff of the USCWM and he began to serve in the Perspectives office. Eight years later he was tapped to direct the national Perspectives movement. Halley led the Perspectives movement through times of strong growth—a sixty percent increase in the annual number of classes during his watch—but also times of conflict, transition and frustration.¹⁴⁰

Though the numbers of classes and coordinators and students continued robust growth, the size of the staff in the national office serving that growth remained stagnant, handicapping progress and effectual service to the movement. In the void, a new grassroots entity emerged, with the Perspectives office's blessing, to help meet the growing needs of coordinators and to move past maintenance to development. At a meeting of regional long-term Perspectives coordinators in Washington, D.C. in 1998, the idea of an Executive Coordinators Council (ECC) was birthed. The purpose of the ECC was to work alongside the national office helping to develop and expand Perspectives in the US in ways that the personnel-strapped national staff could not. It must be stated, however, that the impetus for the ECC grew out of an atmosphere of discontent and frustration on the part of regional coordinators towards U.S. Center personnel for a lack of leadership and responsiveness to their needs. The ECC set about serving as an advocate for coordinators, providing leadership and accountability.

¹⁴⁰ Steve Halley, interview by author, email, February 15, 2008.

Perspectives had grown past a sole course into a movement, a movement of awareness, education and equipping for mission to unreached peoples. Many other Bible studies, curricula and courses had emerged from the seed of the Perspectives course. The question began to be asked, “What is Perspectives?” Is it a course developed and conducted by the U.S. Center for World Mission or is it more? Can the name “Perspectives” be attached to an entire movement representing various organizations, curricula, content and goals, as long as they relate to frontier mission?

The debate over alternative curricula being used in a Perspectives class continued for many months, with members of the ECC serving as mediators and seeking reconciliation between parties at variance with one another. The final conclusion was that even though Perspectives had indeed become a movement, expanding in many directions, for the sake of integrity and clarity the name “Perspectives” must refer only to the course developed and owned by the U.S. Center for World Mission. Otherwise there is not only confusion, but Perspectives could become associated with concepts and outcomes that are not aligned with the core teaching of the course. From 2003 onward, only the standard Perspectives curriculum could be used in an official Perspectives class.

Another point of contention was how much ownership the ECC could have to develop initiatives and direct the Perspectives program. The U.S. Center viewed the ECC as an advisory board, but the ECC saw themselves as an activist board. The more the ECC succeeded in its mission, the less influence it seemed the USCWM had over its crown jewel.¹⁴¹ The ECC was operating during a vacuum of visionary leadership for

¹⁴¹ Scott White, interview by author, email, May 8, 2008.

Perspectives at the U.S. Center. There was an administrative and maintenance mentality and struggle just to keep up. Those were frustrating years for all, Halley recalls, yet in spite of it several steps forward were taken.¹⁴²

Under Halley's direction and the ECC's active leadership Perspectives coordinator training was completely revamped. With the drift away from national leadership, regional networks of coordinators had developed their own coordinator training. The best training of each region was garnered and a new national level of coordinator training was instituted, bringing clarity and consistency. In the process, Halley worked hard to re-establish and strengthen relationships with regional leaders.

Also under Halley's leadership, a one-week Pastors and Leaders Perspectives Intensive course was instituted, enabling those who would not normally be able to take the full fifteen-week course to experience it. It was held in January and eventually also in June at U.S. Center headquarters. The format was successful and became part of the permanent schedule.

All were aware of a tremendous need to develop procedures and resources for follow-up of the mounting cadre of alumni. However, to their chagrin, not much was accomplished on this goal during the tenure of Halley and the ECC.

In July of 2001 a Field Council of over one hundred coordinators convened in Denver for three days of networking, resourcing and equipping. Such a large national event had never been held in Perspectives' twenty-seven year history. The event was wholly planned and executed by the ECC and hosted by Caleb Project. It was a

¹⁴² Halley, interview, February 15, 2008.

tremendous success in bringing unity, consistency and training to the national network of coordinators.

During its four years of existence, the ECC gave visionary leadership to the Perspectives course and movement. In 2004 the ECC disbanded at their own initiative because of disagreement with the USCWM over how much ownership and decision-making ability they were allowed. That same year Steve Halley resigned from his position as director of the national Perspectives office.¹⁴³ Yet through the turbulence of those four years, the necessity for major modification to the infrastructure of the national office was made visible. The USCWM renewed its commitment to invest in and nurture the Perspectives movement it had birthed. Indeed, the most substantial transition in Perspectives' history was bursting on the horizon.

A New Start: Fresh Faces in New Places

The year 2004 proved to be a pivotal year for the Perspectives Study Program. It marked thirty years since the inception of the course at Wheaton in 1974. In all those years the Perspectives national staff lived and worked within the greater community of the U.S. Center for World Mission in Pasadena, California. For years the U.S. Center had regional staff who oversaw Perspectives classes in their region, but the national headquarters had always been in Pasadena. That was about to change.

In 2004 Ralph Winter entered into negotiations with veteran mission mobilizer Steve Shadrach to take the helm of the Mobilization Division of the U.S. Center for

¹⁴³ Halley, interview, February 15, 2008.

World Mission. Shadrach was interested, if the proposal included realigning the Perspectives Study Program to become a division within the Mobilization arm of the U.S. Center. The dilemma? Shadrach was heavily vested in his own student mobilization ministries headquartered out of his home state of Arkansas. Could the U.S. Center possibly consent to move a major division out of the bosom of the Center itself?

As a young man, Steve Shadrach was heavily influenced by Bob Sjogren, only five years after college-aged Sjogren participated in the remarkable 1980 Penn State Perspectives class. Sjogren brought a traveling team of mission mobilizers to Fayetteville, Arkansas where Shadrach was serving as a college pastor. When Sjogren's team addressed the college students, the individual most impacted was Shadrach himself. At Sjogren's urging, Steve and Carol Shadrach headed out to Pasadena to take the Perspectives intensive class in the summer of 1985. Their lives would never be the same. Shadrach recalls,

I did not even finish the Perspectives class because I was so anxious to get back to Arkansas to put into practice all the great things I had learned. I was so full, to overflowing; I could not sit in class and listen to one more speaker or read one more article. When I told the coordinator that I had to leave, she thought they had offended me in some way. I said no, I just can't take any more. I have to *do* something with what I have been given over the last month. I had come to Pasadena thinking I knew a lot about missions; I was humbled. I left Pasadena with an expanded vision. Previously I was just trying to reach college students for Christ; now each campus became a launching pad and sending base to raise up laborers to reach the world for Christ.¹⁴⁴

During the summer intensive course, Shadrach was also trained in a Perspectives Coordinators Workshop led by Jay Gary. He went home and the following year coordinated the first ever Perspectives class in the state of Arkansas. "Sixty students

¹⁴⁴ Steve Shadrach, interview by author, email, February 22, 2008.

packed out a room and hung on every word that every speaker shared each week. There was so much excitement and electricity in that room week by week we thought the second Pentecost had come! Most all of those initial sixty are in missions or ministry today.”¹⁴⁵

In 2003 Shadrach was asked to conduct a seminar on personal support-raising for all U.S. Center staff. Standing there teaching in Pasadena, a flood of memories enveloped him as he remembered how his journey in mission mobilization was ignited at that same spot eighteen years earlier. By early 2004 Shadrach was recruited to direct the Mobilization Division of the Center. His acceptance predicated moving both the Mobilization office and the national Perspectives office to his home and ministry headquarters in Fayetteville, Arkansas. Such a decentralized move was unprecedented in USCWM history, and it was especially amazing that it included Perspectives, the flagship ministry of the Center.¹⁴⁶

Shadrach asked Dave Flynn, head of Personnel at the U.S. Center to become the director of the national Perspectives office. Flynn was not initially interested in the job and certainly did not want to move his family to Arkansas, but after a season of prayer felt that maybe a fresh voice would be an asset to the Perspectives Study Program. Flynn brought a valuable mix of business experience in marketing and administration and degrees in missiology and management to the director’s job.

¹⁴⁵ Shadrach, interview, February 22, 2008.

¹⁴⁶ Shadrach, interview, February 22, 2008.

The move was a huge transition for the national Perspectives office. Only a few of the existing staff elected to move, so not only was there a transition in the leadership of Perspectives, but a turnover of the staff as well. New staff was recruited in Arkansas, enlarging the Perspectives office and filling desperately needed positions. At long last the office was staffing up to meet the increasing demands of the program.

Steve Shadrach and Dave Flynn brought new vision and vitality to the Perspectives program. The move to Northwest Arkansas did not hurt either. The staff discovered that they were able to accomplish a vast amount more being away from the extra demands and distractions of everyday life at the Center. The downside was missing the live-in community and the regular missiology briefings by Winter and visiting authorities.

Transformation began with an administrative overhaul. Previous director Steve Halley had advocated that the directorship be split into two positions: visionary and administrative, but his proposal was never acted upon. Steve Shadrach saw the necessity and value of such a division. He divided the Perspectives staff into two teams. Dave Flynn heads up the more visionary aspect as it relates to strategy, marketing, personnel, growth and development outside the Perspectives office. The responsibility for the more administrative functions inside the Perspectives office—finances, administration, information technology, publications and managing relationships with instructors, coordinators, alumni and mission agencies—was given to new staff member John Patton. The United States was divided into fourteen regions and a full or part-time director was placed over each region. The long-term goal is to have area directors under each regional director who would in turn coach and oversee networks of classes and coordinators in

their metro area. The coordinators lead task force teams who facilitate the classes. This increased structure resulted in faster multiplication of classes.

The next challenge was overhauling the heavy administrative burden of both local class coordinators and the national office. To tackle this challenge the Perspectives office hired a top Relationship Management Technology firm to design a web site that would automate class functions and allow for personalized tracking and interaction with each student. Most all class administrative functions were put on the web.

All of these changes were to allow the coordinator and his or her team to pour their time and energy into the lives of students, rather than the machinery. After all, that is what motivates them to run Perspectives classes in the first place.

Another key challenge that had been weighing on Perspectives personnel for years was tracking and maintaining relationships with former students. There were no systems in place to enable this. For the first time a Perspectives staff person was assigned just to the task of alumni follow-up, in an attempt to track down and create means of serving the thousands of U.S. alumni. Now when a student finishes the Perspectives course, they can click on one web site and continue to learn methods to mobilize their church, steps to prepare for the mission field, ways to support and serve missionaries, means to pray knowledgeably for the world, opportunities to use their business skills in mission and tips on ministering to internationals in our midst.

The Perspectives course began on the college campus, yet over the decades the class composition changed to primarily lay people in the church pews. A focus on college students was lost, and in the process, so were the students. Yet, college students with

their whole life ahead of them are a prime audience for Perspectives. They are making major decisions that will affect the rest of their life.

The new national Perspectives staff decided to try to re-capture the university audience. They designed a strategy of recruiting a full-time mobilizer for major state college campuses who would come alongside church and para-church student ministries as a mission specialist. One of the goals is to begin Perspectives classes on or near the campus community, or recruit students into existing courses in the city. Dave Flynn contacted many campus ministers in cities with on-going Perspectives classes and discovered that many were not even aware of Perspectives. The national office is seeking to redress this gaping omission and, while not in any way neglecting those of other ages, fill Perspectives classes up with college students once again.¹⁴⁷

A New Edition for a New Millennium

By the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, plans were already being laid for another revision of the Perspectives curriculum. Some articles were obviously outdated with references to the approach of the year 2000. Other articles needed to be revised or deleted all together, and new articles needed to be included to reflect the changing nature of the world and the evolving practice of mission.

A decision was made not to make a complete overhaul of the text, as was done with the third edition, but to substantially update it. In terms of format as well as content, the Perspectives Revision and Editorial Team sought input from its valued users:

¹⁴⁷ Dave Flynn, interview by author, Round Rock, TX, February 8, 2008.

coordinators and instructors. During 2007 a "Fourth Edition Tour" was set up in nine cities which have a long history of hosting Perspectives courses. The Revision Team, consisting of primary editors Ralph Winter and Steve Hawthorne, national director Dave Flynn and curriculum specialist Bruce Koch, traveled to each city to meet with regional coordinators and instructors. Over 130 people attended the meetings providing insightful feedback.¹⁴⁸

And then the completely unexpected happened. Astoundingly not one, but both primary editors, Winter and Hawthorne, suffered major heart attacks within a few months of each other. God was gracious in not only sparing their lives, but bringing them to complete recovery. The revision process, however, was delayed.

A large national conference was held in Dallas, Texas in 2008 as a celebration of the thirty-five years since the seed of the Perspectives course was first planted at Urbana '73. All who had ever served as Perspectives coordinators or instructors through the years were invited to attend. The conference was designed to better train coordinators and speakers with a unique track of workshops offered for each. Global developers of the Perspectives course were invited to share in the celebration and to give reports on how God is using Perspectives in other parts of the world. Over four hundred attended the conference at their own expense, with a surprising and encouraging representation of over thirty coming from far-away nations. A true national conference of this nature, inviting all those who had made Perspectives a reality in so many places through the years, was a first for the Perspectives movement.

¹⁴⁸ Dave Flynn, "Perspectives 4th Edition Tour Comes to an End!" *Mission Frontiers* 30, no. 1 (January-February 2008): 16.

U.S. Penetration and Global Reach

Statistics, by no means, convey the import of the Perspectives course, but they do provide a window into the breadth of its reach. Since its inception, over one hundred thousand people have taken the Perspectives course in North America alone, with at least thirty thousand more in other countries, chiefly New Zealand, Australia and Korea. Over sixty percent of all those who have ever taken Perspectives have done so since the year 2000. The annual number of classes has doubled since the turn of the millennium to over two hundred per year in North America, registering around seven thousand students per year. Each year at least one thousand Americans volunteer vast amounts of time and energy to conduct courses in their cities. The Perspectives office lists over two thousand instructors and twenty-six hundred trained coordinators.¹⁴⁹ Graduate and undergraduate credit is available through Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Trinity International University and other cooperating institutions. Perspectives is also offered online and by correspondence. Over sixty mission agencies, reflecting a broad spectrum of the Body of Christ, highly endorse Perspectives for their potential candidates. Many, such as Frontiers and Christar receive most of their recruits out of the Perspectives classes. Additionally with well over 150,000 sold, the *Perspectives Reader* is one of the most widely-used mission textbooks in colleges and seminaries.

Multiple other curricula grew up around the Perspectives course, different from Perspectives, but carrying many of the same teachings and articles. These curricula were generally in different formats (Bible studies designed for Sunday School classes or video-

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.perspectives.org> (accessed November 15, 2011).

based teaching) or were specialized for specific audiences (students, children, pastors, etc.) Those specialized curricula which carried the same “missiological DNA” as Perspectives were formally recognized as being a part of a *Perspectives Family* of curricula.

Applauding the development of multiple curricula, Perspectives developer, Steve Hawthorne wrote,

Even more encouraging than the books, videos, and courses is the emergence of a league of like-minded leaders who are mobilizing for the completion of world evangelization. What they have in common is a hope that God’s people will rise to great obedience in the Great Commission if they are living according to a vision of God’s global purpose. That conviction that a vision of God’s purpose can motivate God’s people in lasting ways is why these mobilizers work at building such a vision with paradigm shaping education.¹⁵⁰

Today the official Perspectives curriculum and derivatives of the curriculum are being taught in multiple languages and cultures throughout the world. As the former mission lands of the non-Western world are rising up to embrace the missionary mandate, they are discovering the richness of the Perspectives material for educating and mobilizing their people to their unique role in world evangelization.

There is no way to know in how many places and in how many languages portions of the Perspectives course have been translated and used in training or mission mobilization. The English version of the *Perspectives Reader* is often found in use in Bible schools in other lands. Easier to assess are the areas and languages that carry either a full-blown standard Perspectives program or a well-established derivative.

¹⁵⁰ Steven C. Hawthorne, *Perspectives Developer Manual* (Pasadena, CA: Institute of International Studies, 2003), 9.

Latin America

As mentioned earlier, the earliest derivative of the Perspectives text and first non-English rendition was *Misión Mundial* (World Mission), created and edited by Jonathan Lewis and first published in Argentina in 1986. This simplified rendition of Perspectives in workbook format has been widely used in the Spanish-speaking world to inspire, educate and mobilize for mission. Its uses have been many, from individual or small group study to use in North American Spanish-speaking Perspectives courses. Lewis actually has no idea how many books have been sold and distributed, but it is certainly in the multiple thousands. The development “south of the border” however was different from that in North America. Though the text was widely distributed, a specific course based on the text was not developed and marketed. It was never Lewis’ intention to launch extension courses. A true Perspectives course has yet to be developed for the Spanish-speaking world; however in 2011 a Spanish-language team was assembled to finally achieve this goal.

The South Pacific Edition

One year after the launch of the Spanish version of the Perspectives material, Perspectives arrived in New Zealand. A local pastor convinced retired businessman Don Cowey to go to Pasadena to be trained to run Perspectives courses. Upon his return Cowey sought to introduce the course to those who had never heard of it. He wrote to thirty church leaders in his city of Christchurch extolling the value of Perspectives. He received back only one reply: “Sounds great, Don, let me know how it goes!” Undaunted he pressed on. At least his church was fully backing the course. Yet when it came time to

advertise it in the morning service, he was left with only two minutes to introduce Perspectives to his congregation. In spite of such frustrated promotion, remarkably fifty showed up for the first class. Cowey relates, “For subsequent courses I needed less than two minutes advertising. I would merely say ‘Stand up all those who have done the Perspectives Course and had their lives changed.’ The looks on their faces said it all and our classes were easily filled.”¹⁵¹

The course exploded onto the island church scene, growing from one class of forty-five graduates in 1987 to twenty classes of six hundred students only two years later. A prime catalyst of the growth was a student in that first class, Dr. Bob Hall. Hall was a senior lecturer in Sociology at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch. He became a super-advocate of Perspectives, setting up The Centre for Mission Direction, a mission mobilization organization which would serve New Zealand for years to come. Cowey observes, “When Bob came to take over the course and the Centre for Mission Direction, I saw that I had been but the starter motor for his powerful V8 engine.”¹⁵² Through Hall’s visionary leadership, Perspectives widely penetrated the island nation.

The Perspectives course in New Zealand has operated in a variety of formats. It is primarily church-based, as it is not accepted by New Zealand universities. However, a few Bible colleges have now adopted the course into their curriculum. Similar to the first few courses in the States, a few very successful live-in courses were run at a Christian conference center attracting people from across the nation. A correspondence course was

¹⁵¹ Don Cowey, interview by author, email, June 24, 2008.

¹⁵² Cowey, interview, June 24, 2008.

developed for those living in isolated areas, graduating many who become coordinators of classes for their region. In the year 2000, Michael and Freda Simkin, graduates from a 1990 course, took over the national leadership of Perspectives in New Zealand.

The Perspectives curriculum was adapted to the “down under” audience in 1991. The *Perspectives Reader* continued to be used, but a new study guide was created for New Zealand and Australian courses. Lessons on Buddhism, the persecuted church and the historical expansion of the gospel into the Pacific Isles were added to contextualize the course for the region. A major focus was put on the role of “Welcomer,” as one in forty of the population of New Zealand is an international student. Consequently the course was lengthened from fifteen to twenty-six lessons, but split into two parts, each consisting of thirteen weeks. The first half, the “Standard Program” has primarily a mobilization aim. The second thirteen-week course, the “Advanced Program” is aimed at those who are likely to go cross-culturally to the least-reached peoples. Collectively the two programs are known as “*Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: the South Pacific Version*.” Whereas many have attempted to shorten the Perspectives course into “more accessible bits,” the South Pacific course developers took the opposite tack, expanding the course to almost double its original size. National coordinator Simkin expounds, “We have resisted the temptation to produce a condensed version of Perspectives, believing that the whole purpose of the course is to change the worldview of the students from the ‘bless me club’ mentality to the one of desiring that God be glorified amongst the nations. Our observation over the years is that radical change of mindset does not happen overnight. ‘Line upon line, here a little, there a little’ over a

period of time is what is needed.”¹⁵³ Over the last twenty years, the South Pacific version has been used in other Pacific and South Asian countries such as Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Indonesia and Malaysia.

Australia is the other South Pacific nation with a full-blown Perspectives program. Dutchman Peter Ruhlman happened to encounter audio tapes of Ralph Winter teaching some of the Perspectives material in 1991 and proceeded to initiate the first Australian course. He was helped along in 1994 by Bob Hall, who shared the course material developed for New Zealand with Australia. By 1996, a second, completely separate Perspectives program was started in another part of Australia by someone who was unaware of the existing program. For several years there was conflict between the two Australian programs, reflecting the conflict that already existed between various mission agencies. As the leaders of the two conflicting Perspectives programs left to pursue other ventures, new leadership arose that committed to working together. In the year 2005, the two separate Perspectives programs united, catalyzing a new spirit of unity among Australian mission agencies. Joanne and Ray Green assumed the national leadership of the program until 2007 when they handed it over to Warwick and Jessica Coghlan. Perspectives continued to spread across the continent; there are now classes and

¹⁵³ Michael Simkin, "Perspectives on the World Christian Movement in New Zealand" (Speech delivered to the National Perspectives Conference, Dallas, TX, June 14, 2008).

coordinators in every state of Australia, registering over thirty-eight hundred total alumni.¹⁵⁴

Philippines

The Philippines have been viewed as a mission field for hundreds of years. They have now become one of the top mission-sending nations in the world. Helping facilitate this transition Max Chismon of Living Springs International produced the *Condensed World Mission Course* in the Philippines in 1994. The course was developed using material from both the *Misión Mundial (World Mission)* course Jonathan Lewis developed for Latin America and from the *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* course. Whereas *World Mission* is a condensed version of the *Perspectives* course, Chismon's version is even further condensed, hence the name. Still maintaining the four distinct sections--Biblical, Historical, Cultural and Strategic—the *Condensed World Mission Course* contains only eight chapters to be taught in nine sessions. The course was designed to be conducted in local churches by trained facilitators. The indigenous Asian Center for Missions reported in 1998 that in the four years since their founding, they had mobilized over five hundred Filipino pastors and key leaders using the *Condensed World Mission Course*.¹⁵⁵ Max Chismon stated in 2003 that over six thousand

¹⁵⁴ Warwick Coghlan, "Perspectives on the World Christian Movement in Australia" (Speech delivered to the National Perspectives Conference, Dallas, TX, June 14, 2008).

¹⁵⁵ "The Escalating Filipino Force for the Nations," *Mission Frontiers* (September - December 1998), accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.missionfrontiers.org/issue/article/the-escalating-filipino-force-for-the-nations>.

Filipinos had taken the course, making it a major mobilization tool in the islands. As a result, breakthroughs have resulted in each of the thirteen unreached people groups in the Philippines, almost all Muslim. Now all thirteen groups have churches planted within them.¹⁵⁶

The Kairos Course

Max Chismon designed the *Condensed World Mission Course* to be extended into other cultures and languages beyond the Philippines. To enhance the spread into other nations, the third edition was printed in simplified English in 2004. In 2005 a wise decision was made to drop the awkward name and rename the course *Kairos* (a Greek word meaning a special opportune season of time). Maintaining its eight lesson format, the *Kairos* course is focused on being accessible to any local church and easily reproducible. It uses a standard set of DVD teaching materials, translated into the local language rather than a roster of local teachers. Graduates of the course can be trained to be facilitators of new courses, with the goal of having one trained facilitator for every six students. Currently the *Kairos* course is being offered in 45 countries and has been translated into 20 languages.¹⁵⁷

The *Kairos* course carries the basic principles and as many of the teachings of Perspectives that can fit into a course carrying less than half the weight of the standard

¹⁵⁶ Max Chismon, "Introducing the Condensed World Mission Course" (Speech delivered to Global Perspectives Consultation, Pasadena, CA, December 12, 2003).

¹⁵⁷ Linda Harding, "Report on the Kairos Course" (Speech delivered to Perspectives Global Huddle, London, England, December 11, 2006). Updated statistics from website <http://www.kairoscourse.org>, accessed November 10, 2011.

course. As such, it has been welcomed into the *Perspectives Family* of like-minded curriculum. Because they carry different distinctives and serve different purposes, both courses have been successfully run in tandem in places like the United Kingdom and Australia. The *Kairos* course offers an easily accessible beginning point for mission awareness and mobilization; the Perspectives course adds the depth and breadth of missiological conviction and understanding to sustain and build a sturdy base of strategic mission involvement.

India

In the spring of 1995, staff members Ralph and Joanna Budleman left the U.S. Center for World Mission in Pasadena, California and relocated to India with the intention of creating a South Asian version of the Perspectives course. They chose to use the English language, the language of higher education in India. However, their strategy was not to simply reproduce the North American version, but to contextualize the entire course. They sought to utilize as many South Asian authors as possible, while retaining some articles from the original English version. Three thousand South Asian *Perspectives Readers* were printed, targeting Bible schools and seminaries. The book was primarily used as a textbook, not in Perspectives-type courses such as are held in the United States. After subsequent evaluations, the Budleman's determined that the South Asian edition did not meet intended goals and discontinued publication.

An Indian national, Shibu Mathew picked up the challenge of developing a Perspectives course and textbook for the multi-faceted Indian culture. Matthew, along with the Budleman's started a Frontier Education Society in 2001 to mobilize believers to

evangelize the unreached people groups of India. In July of 2002 he ran his first Perspectives class. Mathew chose to target pastors and ministry leaders, but also young upwardly-mobile Indians in their twenties and thirties that are being employed by the thousands in the emerging global business markets of India. He is conducting classes in a few major cities while simultaneously working to revise and adapt the North American version to an Indian constituency. The pressure is on. A growing chorus is calling for translation of the Perspectives material into the major languages of India. Yet Matthew knows that the goal should not be simply translation, but cultural adaptation, which he is steadfastly pursuing.¹⁵⁸

Spontaneously other Perspectives-type courses have been held in various places on the Indian sub-continent, conducted by various individuals within their own ministry context. This author was privileged to participate in the first-ever Perspectives course in the north-east Indian state of Mizoram, an intensive one-week course conducted in the fall of 2007. Initiated by Mizo leaders Lalliana and Zangeni Mualchin, the students were ethnic Mizo and Naga young people determined and intentional about mobilizing their peers for strategic mission to unreached people groups. On the final day of class, God divinely orchestrated a remarkable encounter, providing the students with immediate application of what they had just learned. Two strangers showed up in the flat where we were holding class, announcing that they were looking for a particular unreached Muslim people group whom they had heard had settled in the area. They had been part of seeing a people movement to Christ among this particular group in Bangladesh and were

¹⁵⁸ Shibu Matthew, "India Perspectives Report" (Speech delivered to the National Perspectives Conference, Dallas, TX, June 14, 2008).

following the trail of a segment of this group who had moved to Mizoram looking for jobs. At the very hour the two missionaries (one American and one Indian) were leaving town, thinking they had been unsuccessful in locating the Bangladeshi people group, they encountered the father of one of our students. He confirmed the presence of this group in the city and told them about our Perspectives class. They walked into our class, suitcases full of contextualized evangelistic material that had proved fruitful among this group, with a challenge to our freshly-mobilized students to help them reach out to these Muslim nomads in their midst. Mizoram is a fully Christianized Indian state, not accustomed to other cultures and religions in their midst. God in His great love and sovereignty orchestrated the simultaneous arrival of an unreached people group, missionaries trained in reaching this particular group and our Perspectives course to mobilize local believers to stretch across the cultural and religious barriers to aid in the outreach.

Korea

South Korean Christians are well-known for their passionate mission vision. Seeking to channel this passion into strategic outreach the entire Perspectives course was translated into Korean in 1999 by Mission Korea, a mobilization organization, under the leadership of Chul Ho Han. The 1999 Notebook version of the Perspectives text (a combination of the *Perspectives Study Guide* and selections from the *Perspectives Reader*) was chosen for translation. The first Korean class was held in the year 2000 with thirty-five students. In 2001 Chul Ho Han visited the Perspectives office in Pasadena to learn how to conduct on-going courses. Consequently the USCWM sent staff member Dave Sherbrook to Korea to assist Han in developing the course. In 2002 Han held an

intensive course for pastors and mission leaders, training them to conduct courses in their cities. That is when the program took off. By 2004 over one thousand students were enrolled in Perspectives classes in Korea.

Initially begun as a follow-up class for university students mobilized by Mission Korea, Perspectives became a premier mission training course in Korea. Now major seminaries are conducting Perspectives classes and Korean communities in other parts of the world are requesting Perspectives to come to them. Classes are already being held in Korean communities in China, Germany and the USA. Han reports that Perspectives is helping steer the mission trends of the Korean church, providing new insight and helping overcome previous mistakes in mission strategy. The biblical insight alone is transforming the sermons of many church pastors.

Although the text is a straight translation of the North American textbook, the class itself has been adapted to its Korean audience. Much emphasis is given to small group integration of the material facilitated by Perspectives alumni. Each group has an opportunity to interact with and learn from a furloughing missionary. To connect the students with their Christian heritage and highlight the cost of penetrating unreached peoples, every class makes an outing to a cemetery to honor the foreign missionaries who came to their country and died on their soil. True to Korean ingenuity, they took the North American program and raised the standard of excellence. The quality of the classes is kept high by requiring all instructors to read the Perspectives text—being a good speaker is not enough—and requiring a minimum of fifty students to be enrolled. In only eight years (2000 – Spring 2008) Mission Korea had conducted ninety-seven

Perspectives classes, graduating 7816. Around twenty percent of the graduates go on to serve at least one year in cross-cultural ministry.¹⁵⁹

The goal of the Korean church is to mobilize one hundred thousand young Koreans to active involvement in missions over the next twenty years, and out of those to send twenty thousand to the field. The two key mobilization tools in their hands are Mission Korea (a biennial student conference much like Urbana in the US) and the Perspectives course.

Russia

When the Iron Curtain fell in 1989, thousands of missionaries poured into the former Soviet Union. Shortly thereafter a chorus began from missionaries scattered in the former Soviet Republics for a Russian version of the Perspectives course. The story of the Russian translation is well-known to this author, as I was personally involved in its development. The account of the obstacles and failures I faced gives a glimpse of some of the challenges of birthing a new language edition of the Perspectives material. Bob Stevens, director of the Southeast Regional Office of the USCWM sponsored the translation project and began to raise funds for it. A decision was made to translate Jonathan Lewis' *World Mission* course into Russian as it was a simpler goal than tackling the heftier *Perspectives Reader* and *Study Guide*. Perspectives alumnus Jim Overton, residing in St. Petersburg, Russia began the process of engaging translators in 1993.

¹⁵⁹ Chul Ho Han, "Report on Perspectives in Korea" (Speech delivered to Perspectives Global Huddle, London, England, December 11, 2006). Statistical update received via email on May 17, 2008.

However, he had to return to the United States and not only was the translation left unfinished, it was lost. In 1994 my church sent me to Russia to work with a daughter church. While there I searched for the lost translation and finally found it—a two foot stack of typewritten pages stuffed in a closet at St. Petersburg Christian University! Not only was the translated material unusable because it was not in digital format, it was also discovered to be of poor quality. Moreover by that time, *World Mission* had been revised and a new translation was needed. During the year I spent in Russia I took up the challenge of pursuing translation and publication of the curriculum. I had never done anything of this nature before, necessitating on-the-job learning. In addition to my publishing naiveté, spiritual opposition hampered the translation project. My primary translator did a sudden about-face and walked away from his Christian faith two-thirds of the way through. When nearing completion of the translation aspect a year later, I delivered it to the most respected Christian publishing organization in Russia. Upon review they determined that much of the translation needed to be discarded, as it was also of poor quality. They informed me that there were very few in Russia at that time with the theological and missiological education necessary to do such a translation and the cost to hire such persons far exceeded the funds we had available. A few years later Jim Overton returned long-term to St. Petersburg and was able to pick the project back up and bring it to completion, with the stateside sponsorship and assistance of Bob Stevens. Finally, in 2001 the Russian translation of *World Mission* rolled off the presses. However, by the end of the decade this version was deemed outdated and deficient and new efforts are underway for development of full-blown Russian Perspectives text and course.

United Kingdom

It would seem that the Perspectives course would jump “across the pond” to England early on given the relationship between the two nations. In the 1980s and 1990s the *Reader* was used in a few Bible colleges, but only as a text, not producing a course of study. It was not until 2001 that the first Perspectives classes were conducted. One class was begun in Liverpool and one in Oxford by two different groups who were unaware of each other. It was not until both groups attended a Global Perspectives Huddle in Pasadena in 2003 that the two entities discovered one another. They joined forces to develop a national U.K. Perspectives program under the leadership of Naomi Gray. The U.K. team has aimed for qualitative rather quantitative growth; even so, by 2008 over eight hundred Brits had graduated from the program. The United Kingdom Perspectives program uses the North American curriculum, but contextualizes the class experience and learning activities to their unique perspective.¹⁶⁰

China

The explosive growth of the church in China over the past half-century is a well-known reality today, even grudgingly acknowledged by the ruling Communist government. The bold and fiery spirit that has fueled the exponential growth of the Chinese church in the face of cruel oppression is now fueling a missionary passion within the Chinese church. At risk of their own lives and in a sacrificial outpouring, Chinese believers are giving their lives to the spread of the gospel among unreached people

¹⁶⁰ Naomi Gray, "Perspectives in the United Kingdom" (Speech delivered to the National Perspectives Conference, Dallas, TX, June 15, 2008).

groups. Some have referred to this endeavor as The Back to Jerusalem Movement. Many in the Chinese church long to take the gospel back along the Silk Road trading routes by which the gospel came to them . . . all the way back to the origination point of the gospel: Jerusalem. It is a perilous endeavor, fraught with difficulties, opposition and persecution, for the Silk Road runs through the heartlands of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. Yet the Chinese feel that they have been specially equipped by God for this mission as they have already laid their lives down just to be believers in Communist China. “The Lord has been training the Chinese house churches for the past fifty years through imprisonment, torture, suffering, and hardship. . . . But we do believe the Lord has put the Chinese church through these experiences to train us to complete this specific task of taking the gospel back to Jerusalem. We have become soldiers of steel, tempered in the furnace of affliction.”¹⁶¹

Chinese leaders desired access to the *Perspectives* material in their own tongue as a tool for mobilization and training for the Back to Jerusalem vision. Thomas Wang, former co-head of the AD 2000 and Beyond Movement, tasked his organization with the production of a Chinese version of the *Perspectives Reader*. By December 2006 Wang’s assistant, Sharon Chan had produced a text aimed primarily at the Chinese diaspora. It is largely a translation of the North American text, with about a third of the articles written by Chinese for Chinese, a goal toward which *Perspectives* is aiming. The Chinese edition was produced as a stand-alone book, rather than intended for a course of study. A new

¹⁶¹ Paul Hattaway et al., *Back to Jerusalem: Three Chinese House Church Leaders Share Their Vision to Complete the Great Commission* (Carlisle, UK: Piquant, 2003), 106.

effort is underway to develop a *Perspectives Reader* and *Study Guide* that can lead to a Chinese Perspectives course. It is hoped that Perspectives will become a major mobilization tool for Chinese communities both within the mainland and those scattered throughout the world.

Nigeria

Timothy Olonade, executive secretary of The Nigeria Evangelical Missions Association, caught a vision for Perspectives to be utilized in his country and put a plan in place to introduce Perspectives to Nigeria in a top-down fashion. Setting the standard, Olonade recruited his own pastor to be one of the first to take the class. Perspectives so dramatically impacted his pastor that the church's mission vision went into overdrive; they have now planted new churches among forty unreached people groups.

Since 2002 Olonade has held a series of one-week-long intensive classes for top church, mission and business leaders, so that they could then sponsor and facilitate classes in their locales. By 2008 Olonade and his team had graduated over eight hundred Nigerian leaders, including the Archbishop of the Anglican Church. The Archbishop was so impacted by the class that he ordered all his bishops and priests to attend Perspectives over the following three years.

The North American Perspectives Notebook version (a combination of the *Study Guide* with embedded articles from the *Reader*) is currently being used in the Nigerian classes. Yet Olonade and his team are actively working on producing a Nigerianized version of Perspectives. As coordinators and instructors have been trained, the course is

spreading across the nation. Denominations are now launching Perspectives classes to deepen the understanding of God's global purpose within their congregations.¹⁶²

The Nigerian church is strong and has become increasingly missional over the past few decades. In the fall of 2005 at a gathering of over one hundred top Nigerian mission leaders representing eighty agencies, churches and organizations, the Nigerian church adopted a daring plan entitled Vision 5015. Vision 5015 is a goal to mobilize 50,000 Nigerians over fifteen years (2005-2020) to actively participate in taking the gospel through the Islamic nations of North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. Churches and agencies are actively recruiting, training and sending Nigerians to the Muslim north. Already one thousand Nigerians are serving in seventeen countries.¹⁶³ The *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* course has been a key mobilization tool to undergird this vision.

The Arab World

A medical doctor, Dr. Swailem Hennien, first encountered Perspectives in the year 2000 in Chicago. He was given an old edition of the *Perspectives Reader*; as he read it, he was amazed at its depth and richness. A little later he met Steve Hawthorne who presented him with the current edition of the Perspectives text. Hennein, even more impressed, desired to see the curriculum translated into Arabic. Around this same time he

¹⁶² Timothy Olonade, "Perspectives in Nigeria" (Speech delivered to the National Perspectives Conference, Dallas, TX, June 13, 2008).

¹⁶³ Timothy Olonade, "Nigerian Church Takes the Gospel Back to Jerusalem with Vision 5015," *Nigeria Missions* 2, no. 1 (November 2006).

was invited to teach in the largest seminary in the Middle East, the Presbyterian Evangelical Seminary of Cairo. Tasked to begin a missions department at the seminary, Hennein chose to use the *Perspectives Reader* and *Study Guide* for course material. He set about recruiting translators, choosing to translate first only the Biblical Section and Strategy Section of Perspectives into Arabic for classroom use.

In 2003 while attending the first Perspectives Global Huddle, Hennein learned about Perspectives extension classes. Eventually he and others later formed an Arabic translation team to produce a full text in order to run Perspectives courses. In the spring of 2011 a beta course was run in an intensive one-week fashion. The team continues to finalize an Arabic edition of Perspectives.

Around the World

The Perspectives course continues to spread into new nations and languages. There are full-blown English-language Perspectives programs in Canada, South Africa, among ex-pats in the Arabian Gulf and *Perspectives Family* programs in other nations. Nations with large English-speaking populations often use the North American Perspectives text, or at least begin there while working on contextualizing the curriculum to their countrymen. India and Nigeria are examples of this. Other language versions of the standard Perspectives curriculum are also in progress, including Portuguese, Spanish and French.

A Perspectives Global Service Office was established in 2003 to assist and facilitate the international expansion of the course. The seed for a Global Office was planted in April 2003 at a meeting in Amsterdam of international mobilizers who were

using Perspectives or similar courses. Out of that meeting came a plan to gather together as many international *Perspectives* or *Perspectives Family* curriculum developers as possible. In December of 2003, over fifty gathered from all over the world to share curricula and discuss the global development of Perspectives. A second international gathering—termed Perspectives Global Huddle—occurred in London in December of 2006.

The demand for international versions continued to exceed the capability of the Perspectives Global Service Office to respond. A huge leap forward was made when Matt Burns joined the Global Office in 2010. Burns had previously pioneered Perspectives courses in the Middle East. Additional staff is being recruited to serve the global movement.

The goal is not to just dump a translation of the North American edition onto the languages and peoples of other cultures, as is so often done with English-language resources. Perspectives teaches the necessity of contextualization; it is only fitting that the curriculum itself be contextualized for different audiences. That is not a simple or speedy process. Yet however long it takes, it is clear that the future of Perspectives lies as much outside of North America as within its home territory.

Building on continued international demand, a third Global Huddle was held in India in 2009 and the largest yet in Seoul, Korea in 2011. These huddles, by providing mutual sharing of resources, ideas and lessons learned are proving to be a precious fountain of wisdom and fellowship for the pioneering developers of international programs. The future is bright as Asian, African, European, Middle Eastern and Latin American leaders of established programs are able to coach those from other lands in

developing their own indigenous Perspectives curriculum, courses and eventually, national movement.

Conclusion

What is it about the Perspectives course that makes it so life-changing? What is the unique contribution of this course?

David Bryant affirms that it is the course's Christology. "Seeing King Jesus and what He is doing. He is leading this victory celebration in one generation after another . . . and seeing the eschatological dimension to all of this . . . that it will all be summed up. That is what this course is all about."¹⁶⁴ Ultimately, Bryant adds, the course is about hope. Hope is not something wistfully wished for, but rather a firm and secure confidence that God's promises and purposes will surely be fulfilled, thereby granting purpose, certainty and destiny to the life that is grounded upon such a hope.¹⁶⁵

Arthur Glasser, the founding father of the Biblical Section of Perspectives who first developed its Christology, stated, "The inductive method of Bible study informs Perspectives. It drives you back to scripture. It is one of the most valuable contributions of the Perspectives program."¹⁶⁶ Indeed seeing scripture and history afresh through the eyes of God's purposes being fulfilled is what student after student comments upon as being so revolutionary.

¹⁶⁴ Bryant, personal recollections, July 13, 2004.

¹⁶⁵ Bryant, personal recollections, July 13, 2004.

¹⁶⁶ Arthur Glasser F., personal recollections at a celebration gathering on the thirtieth anniversary of the Perspectives course (Pasadena, CA, July 13, 2004).

Yet maybe Ralph Winter said it best:

What is it about the course that changes people's lives? Not any one thing. It is the Holy Spirit working through the people that run the course and speak in the course and write the course that changes people's lives. The very idea that God is still around and at work creates a sense of awe in the average student. They may believe in God, but they've grown accustomed to the idea of God and have no more awe of God. The Perspectives course is not what we are really promoting. We are promoting the awe of God. The course is an earthen vessel in which something very much more important is being carried.¹⁶⁷

Indeed that is what the Perspectives class gave me and so many of the students that I have encountered. An awe of God, a sure hope in His purposes being fulfilled, a joy that He calls us into strategic and significant partnership with His grand and glorious work . . . these are life-changing perspectives. As Perspectives students embrace these truths a revolution happens. Certainly not every student walks away with dramatic transformation, and not every student is sustained in the new perspective gained, but over the years and now across the globe, the Perspectives course has deeply impacted the course and the force of world missions.

Is another Student Volunteer Movement in the offing? Maybe. Maybe it has been building for years and the explosion onto the global scene is just around the corner. God *is* stirring a new generation, a passionate generation uniquely fitted for cross-cultural relationships in a *kairos* season of global opportunity. If a new Volunteer Movement does explode on the scene, we know that this time it will not reflect a mere segment of the world's peoples, but will flow from the truly global church that has emerged during this past century. If such a movement does emerge for the twenty-first century, it is likely that the Perspectives course will have been one of the catalysts God used to spur it into

¹⁶⁷ Ralph Winter, personal recollections, July 13, 2004.

existence. Indeed, Perspectives itself has become a movement, a volunteer movement. However, our aspirations are not focused on the movement itself, but on the glory of the King and the worship of the nations.

Perhaps the first thirty-five years of Perspectives have been essentially about laying a strong foundation. Maybe, hopefully, the best days are ahead as the course continues to expand in North America and explodes around the world into new languages, formats and cultures. Maybe it will seep into the hearts and souls of churches, taking our eyes and energy off self-absorbing delights and competitive ventures and focusing them squarely on the King and His delights.

The Perspectives course, to quote a phrase from Henry Blackaby in his popular study *Experiencing God*, “saw what God was doing and joined him.”¹⁶⁸ It must continue to change and grow according to the vision and work of God around us. Probably the most critical path now is how the course is to take shape in other cultures. Considering how God has used this course in North America over the past thirty-five years, what can be envisioned for its future among Chinese, Africans, Latinos, Arabs, South Asians and others across our globe?

¹⁶⁸ Henry T. Blackaby and Claude V. King, *Experiencing God: Knowing and Doing the Will of God* (Nashville, TN: Lifeway Press, 1990), 15.

CHAPTER 3

SUGGESTED LITERARY RESOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY

The following annotated bibliography is an attempt to survey available resources from the perspective of usefulness to global developers of the Perspectives History Section. As the History Section is adapted to various global environments, resources will be needed for writing and teaching local mission history. This bibliography includes only English-language books and reference works, however it is recognized that much valuable material will be found within the target language and/or region. As most international Perspectives program developers are fluent in English, and programs are often begun in the English language, this bibliography is intended as a beginning resource.

The bibliography is sorted by regions of the world and type of resource. I intentionally omitted the regions of North America and Western Europe, as the number and ready availability of resources are vast in these global areas. Also, the North American edition of the Perspectives course is already based on a North American and European outlook and historical base. Particular attention is paid to whether the resource tends toward church history or mission history and the breadth of inclusivity. For the most part, books that did not present a strong mission history were excluded, unless they are considered major publications or there is a dearth of available mission history resources.

Global

Bowden, John, Margaret Lydamore and Hugh Bowden. *A Chronology of World Christianity*. London: Continuum, 2007.

This work is a useful tool for locating people and events in Western Christianity in their historical timeframe. Although occasionally people and events are mentioned outside of Western Christianity, it is rare. The volume is nicely organized, with a brief overview of each century followed by a chronological listing of key people, theological controversies, political and ecclesiological events, and even religious artistic developments. A handy index is included. The tragedy is that at a date of publication as late as 2007, it presents itself in the introduction as “a listing of events in Christianity all over the world” reinforcing the view of Christianity as a Western religion.

Chadwick, Owen. *A History of Christianity*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Chadwick, an esteemed professor of modern history at Cambridge and author of numerous works, gives a brief overview of two thousand years of global Christianity in this relatively short work. However, the overview covers mostly the expansion and development of the church in the West. Only four pages, for instance are given to the expansion of the gospel eastward by the Nestorian Church. This history dips into all aspects of the church: organization, art, architecture, integration into society, and only briefly on the missionary expansion of the church into new cultural areas. The beautiful art that fills the book could be useful for illustration.

Glover, Robert Hall. *The Progress of World-wide Missions*. Revised and enlarged by J. Herbert Kane. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1960. Original publication in 1924.

Written as a popular read rather than technical history, Glover's aim in writing was to give a broad overview of Christian missions from apostolic times until the present. The book grew out of his lectures at Moody Bible Institute and was intended to be used in educational institutions. Part One gives a general chronological sweep of mission. Part Two takes a systematic and brief look at each region of the world and the primary countries in those regions to explore the pathway of evangelization. Glover leaves out the regions of Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand as countries or continents that have already been sweepingly evangelized. This work is too dated to be of much use.

Gonzalez, Justo L. *The Story of Christianity*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1984.

Even though authored by a Latin American, Gonzalez' history maintains a more Western perspective than do later works by other non-Westerners. Gonzalez is a professor of Church history and the history of theology and his tome reflects these subjects. Much attention is given to the emergence and conflict of various theologies of the Church. Very little attention is paid to the missionary extension of the Church.

Harnack, Adolf. *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. Rev. ed. Translated and edited by James Moffatt. 2 vols. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

Harnack is the earliest source referred to by global mission historians and he himself is aware of his pioneering endeavor, remarking in his preface that "No monograph has yet been devoted to the mission and spread of the Christian religion

during the first three centuries of our era.” His work is detailed and precise, based on primary sources in Greek and Latin from the early centuries of the church. He writes from the perspective of a radical German Protestant of his time, one who embraces the historical-criticism of his period and the exclusion of the supernatural. He omits as unreliable sources that appear too legendary to be believable that later scholars tend to include. The revised edition includes nice color maps indicating the extent of the spread of Christianity from Britain to Persia before AD 325. Harnack seeks to answer the question of why Christianity spread as far and as rapidly as it did in the first two centuries, concluding that it was due primarily to the internal essence of the faith itself and the adaptability of the faith to so many cultures.

Hastings, Adrian, ed. *A World History of Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1999.

This is the most recent comprehensive global Christian history in one accessible volume. However, it is not fully comprehensive, as Hastings acknowledges; some regions are barely covered and some (notably islands) are left out completely. It is, as the title states, a history of Christianity, and not specifically a history of the expansion of Christianity (mission history); however, the introduction of the faith into each region is covered. The greatest value of this work is the ease with which one can obtain a chronological and global overview of the expansion and development of the Christian church in one single volume. This also is the weakness: it is an overview, which necessarily entails simplicity and lack of personal stories and the intriguing interactions and twists of events of which history is made.

Comparing this work with another of Hastings's recent histories: *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950* (published 1994), it is much more Euro-centric in its approach, even though that is what Hastings seeks to avoid. As it is a millennial publication, it is a bit surprising that non-Western authors were not enlisted for the non-Western regions. An excellent bibliography per region and era is included.

Irvin, Dale T., and Scott W. Sunquist. *History of the World Christian Movement*. Vol. 1, *Earliest Christianity to 1453*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001.

The authors' outlook is contained in the title; throughout they refer to the Christian *movement*, rather than tracing the spread of Christianity from an institutional or ecclesiastical framework. They are some of the few authors I have read that have fully sought to place the extension of Christianity into its cultural, political and religious context. The opening chapters describe the primary cultures of the world during the rise of the Christian movement. They make the point repeatedly that as Christianity came into contact with various cultures, languages, politics and pre-existing religions, the form and practice of Christianity was impacted, creating different shapes and structures in differing geographical areas. This emphasis, I believe, is the greatest strength of the work.

This excellent global survey covers the extension of Christianity up to the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (AD 1453). It is thorough but not very detailed, as in Latourette or Moffett. That makes it a much easier read for the average person. It explains the doctrinal and ecclesiastical diversity and controversies as much as is needed to understand the development of the church in various regions without going into the finer points of theology. Introductions and conclusions of each section provide

the breadth of understanding for putting a global picture in place. Good maps are included and a suggested reading list at the end of each chapter.

The unique contribution of this work is that it is a collaboration of a team of forty-four scholars from the varied disciplines of history, missiology, theology and sociology who gathered twice a year over several years. These scholars hail from every region of the world, representing multiple ethnicities. The result is a work that I will put at the top of my recommended reading list to students and the average lay-person alike.

Kane, J. Herbert. *A Global View of Christian Missions: From Pentecost to the Present*. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1975.

Professor Kane follows the same outline in this work as Robert Hall Glover did in his earlier work, *The Progress of World-wide Missions* (referenced above), which Kane revised and updated in 1960. This text is intended to be a replacement textbook for educational institutions. Kane's emphasis is on the eras of modern Catholic and Protestant missions. A description of early Christianity is lacking; for example, the section on missions in Egypt begins with the Moravians in the eighteenth century! Part One of the book provides a simple and sweeping overview of the expansion of Christianity through successive time frames. Its value lies in its broad generalization, enabling the reader to see the big picture of the history of regions and the entrance of Christianity into those regions. Part Two gives a very brief overview of most countries of the world, divided by regions, summarizing the history, people, religion, entrance of missions with key missionaries identified, and current state of the gospel in the area.

Koschorke, Klaus, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, eds. *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Sourcebook*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2007.

This work is a study of the past 550 years of mission and the resultant Christianity in the non-West via the original writings of the principals involved, both mission agents and recipients. The editors purposed to give a voice to the indigenous Christians from the plurality of Christian expression. Organized geographically and chronologically, critical themes in each era and place are addressed.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of Christianity*. Vol. 1, *To AD 1500*. Rev. ed., with a new foreword and supplemental bibliographies by Ralph D. Winter. San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 1975; *A History of Christianity*. Vol. 2, *AD 1500 - AD 1975*. Rev. ed., expanded to cover the tumultuous significant years 1950-1975 with a new foreword and supplemental bibliographies by Ralph D. Winter. San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 1975.

Even decades later, Latourette remains the standard in the study of the history of Christianity and history of missions. This two-volume set draws heavily from his earlier seven-volume *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, but is different in purpose and content than his earlier magnum opus. Although including the expansion of the Christian faith (in much shortened form), these two volumes present the fuller picture of the development of the church: in thought and theology; in institutions and ecclesiology; in practice and community. Latourette follows the same theme and organization of history, advance and retreat of the faith geographically in segments of time, as he does in his *Expansion of Christianity*. He is famous for his pictorial representation of the history of Christianity as waves on the seashore that surge and recede, but each surge is bigger than the last and each recession is less than the previous, resulting in an ever-increasing global presence of the Christian faith. The supplemental chapter by Ralph Winter covers the

years 1950-1975. Winter, also a noted mission historian, adds a supplemental selected bibliography of works printed after 1950.

Latourette effectively sets the birth and development of the church in each region and during each timeframe within its historical context, commenting on the effects the environment had upon the faith and the effects the Christian faith had upon its environment. That is one of the geniuses of his work. For information, however, on the expansion and development of the church outside of Western Europe and the Byzantine Empire, one needs to look further than Latourette. In this respect, Samuel Moffett is a much better resource for coverage of Asian Christianity. When chronicling the expansion of the church in the “great century” of the 1800s, he unfortunately presents it as only a “white man’s” mission and with a tone that does not sound far removed from the prevailing colonial mentality. The analysis that Latourette provides and questions he raises in his periodic “Retrospect and Prospect” chapters are invaluable in grasping and meditating on the full sweep of Christian history, its meaning and its future.

———. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. 7 volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1937-1945.

No one has yet to replace the scope and breadth of Latourette’s history on the expansion of the Christian faith. Even though dated in its outlook (Western, slightly colonialistic and triumphalistic as would be expected of an author of his generation), it remains the standard for a complete historical and global picture of Christianity focused specifically on its missionary advancement. Although saturated with detail (Latourette himself admits that the scope of detail in volumes four through six is overwhelming and possibly confusing to the reader), the detail he includes really only scratches the surface.

For any sense of the story and biography of the lives of both those carrying the gospel and those receiving the gospel, other works need to be consulted that focus on smaller regions or aspects of missionary endeavor.

Volumes one through three cover the years AD 1-1800. Because of the explosion of the gospel into so many more cultures and lands in the nineteenth century, Latourette devotes an equal amount of space (volumes four through six) to just that “great century” as he terms it. The final volume brings the reader up to the date of publication (1945) and summarizes and helps the reader put into perspectives the entire scope of two thousand years of global Christian expansion and presence.

Latourette seeks far more than to just record events; he seeks to bring a sense of clarity, understanding and thoughtful analysis of the whole. To accomplish this he approaches each time and region with seven critical questions. This method transforms the raw data of history into a means of learning from history and a greater understanding of the whys of history. It also engenders deeper contemplation upon the future of Christianity. Latourette greatly helps this process along through his introductory and concluding summaries in each volume. These summaries and analyses can stand alone for a complete overview of the expansion of Christianity.

Latourette states from the first that he comes to the work as a historian and also an evangelical Christian. He readily admits that his training as an historian creates a bias against supernatural explanations of historical events (this can be seen in the omission of descriptions of events that are attributed to the supernatural by some sources that other historians include). As a Christian he sees God behind history, but attempts to keep that perspective out of his scholarly work. He leaves the conclusions to his readers.

Mullin, Robert Bruce. *A Short World History of Christianity*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008.

This is a popular-read church history rather than a mission history. It is also almost completely Western in its scope of coverage. In the first 150 pages covering up to AD 1500, only two pages are given to the Church of the East. On the positive side, it at least includes more coverage of Byzantium and the Eastern Orthodox Church than is usual. Only two chapters are given to global missions in a sweeping overview fashion. The author's focus as a church historian rather than mission historian is clearly seen in his description of the Edinburgh 1910 conference as an impetus for ecumenical unity rather than for mission.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Missions*. Rev. ed. The Penguin History of the Church, edited by Owen Chadwick, vol. 6. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.

Along with Latourette, Bishop Neill's mission history is still considered a standard classic. Although much smaller than Latourette's massive contribution, Neill's history is still comprehensive and detailed. He covers all branches of the Christian church in familiar Western-oriented timeframes. The greatest weakness of Neill's work is that it is a product of the time in which it was written: Western in approach and sometimes colonial in outlook. The inclusion of a concise annotated bibliography arranged by countries or regions is appreciated.

Robinson, Charles Henry. *History of Christian Mission*. Edinburgh, UK: T. & T. Clark, 1915.

This Anglican author and secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts attempts to describe the work of hundreds of mission societies

(Roman Catholic, Anglican and Protestant) in the various regions of the world. He does not cover every section of the world—for instance, he leaves out Russia altogether— or every communion—he likewise leaves out all of the streams of the Orthodox Church. Before launching into each global region, he includes a chapter on “Methods of Missionary Work.” This chapter includes a rarely seen, but very welcome section on “political methods of evangelization” eschewing the degree to which such methods have been used in the past to the detriment of true evangelization. Unlike his contemporaries who rejoice in the conquering rule of “Christian nations” over Muslim peoples as a means to open the door of the gospel to those lands, Robinson stands true to his conviction against any political inducement to faith in regards Muslims.

Schmidlin, Joseph. *Catholic Mission History*. Translated and edited by Matthias Braun. Techny, IL: Mission Press, 1933.

The editor calls this the “first scientific Catholic mission history” in nineteen centuries. As editor Braun states in his preface to the English edition, there has never been a “comprehensive history” and the histories that were previously produced tended to be “too apologetic and too panegyric” to meet to modern standard historical-critical method of proper historians. This is indeed a valuable resource, as the author and editor draw on a wide variety of resources in more than one language and have access to a great volume of Catholic historical sources. They offer a valuable discussion of sources and literature in each section, and appear objective about the Catholic literature. The weakness of this work is that no formal bibliography is provided.

The author explains his periodization of mission as coinciding with the aims and missionary methods of the Catholic Church, the results, and to some degree geographic

scope of each period. Early Christian mission was characterized by spontaneous personal mission on the part of believers with a focus on individual conversion and pertained mostly to the Graeco-Roman culture of the Mediterranean Basin. Medieval mission was orchestrated by the State Church, with a focus on Christianization of whole peoples or nations and transformation of society, and pertained primarily to the European and Slavic peoples. Modern mission began to synthesize the two methods and foci, and extended to the rest of the world.

The work concludes with a couple of very interesting Appendices. One is a one-page listing of the Christianization of peoples and lands per each century. The second is a Table of Dates noting the dates of mission outreaches, including the receptor people group and primary mission personnel. Even though limited to Catholic missions, these appendices are wonderfully useful in sketching a global expansion of the gospel.

Yates, Timothy. *The Expansion of Christianity*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004.

This is a delightful work that I highly recommend for a short, concise, truly global, popular-read overview of two thousand years of Christian mission. It fits its name in that it truly focuses on the expansion of the Christian faith by only covering the *introduction* of the gospel into the various regions of the globe. The author highlights the key missionaries who pioneered in each area, occasionally mentioning a key indigenous worker as well. However, the author shows awareness that the evangelization of each area was predominantly the work of indigenous ministers. Sidebars offer a bit more biographical detail of certain individuals. The author concludes the short volume naming the twentieth century as an “African Century” predicting that the next one hundred years

will be even more significant for African Christianity. The book is beautifully illustrated with color photographs and maps. This book is useful for a good overview, but will not provide the richness of detail that is found in stories of how the gospel penetrated cultures.

Biographical Reference Works

Anderson, Gerald H., ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1998.

This large work includes biographies on twenty-four hundred individuals representing all traditions of the global church. The individuals were chosen by fifty international scholars for a significant contribution they made to the advancement of Christian mission.

Anderson, Gerald H., Robert T. Coote, Norman A. Horner, and James M. Phillips. *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*. American Society of Missiology Series 19. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994.

Another biographical contribution by Anderson, this book provides a more in-depth look at the lives and contributions of major mission leaders in the past two hundred years. Multiple contributors provided the entries on seventy-five leaders representing mission promoters, interpreters, theologians, historians, theorists, strategists and administrators, as well as sections focusing on mission leaders in Africa, China and Southern Asia. The editors admit the unfortunate imbalance in which a minimal number of non-Westerners and women are included.

Tucker, Ruth A. *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004.

For a short biography of key mission agents through the centuries, including drawings or photos where available, this is an excellent work. The second edition expands the work to include non-Westerners in a chapter unfortunately entitled, "Third World Missions." Otherwise, the key agents are Western.

———. *Guardians of the Great Commission: The Story of Women in Modern Missions*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994.

The great contribution of this volume is that it focuses on women, some of the most overlooked personnel in the history of missions. Authored by a woman in the typically male-dominated environment of Christian higher education, Tucker brings a female perspective to the field of mission history, presenting the female mission agents as heroes and humans, with all the challenges and heartbreaks, successes and failures such work entails and the unique contribution these women made, generally without the recognition their male counterparts enjoyed.

Eastern Orthodox and Eastern (Nestorian) Christianity

Atiya, Aziz S. *History of Eastern Christianity*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968.

In a day when most all literature on the history of the Eastern Church was written by those from the Western Church, the author brings a welcome perspective to the study of Eastern Christianity as he writes from the vantage point of his own Coptic heritage. He covers the history of the Eastern Churches that were non-Greek: Coptic, Ethiopic, Jacobite, Nestorian, Armenian, Indian, Maronite and the extinct Nubian and North

African churches. Whereas there is a vast amount of literature covering the history of the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox family of churches, the story of the historic churches that did not adhere to the Chalcedon expression of the faith and therefore developed separately from the rest of Christendom has not been as broadly told. This book helps fill that void. However, it is not as much mission history as it is church history. The beginnings of each church is recounted, but the bulk of the work covers the development of the church, the persecutions it endured, the schisms and relations with other church bodies, the theology, art, culture and architecture, and the impact of wars, invasions and the arrival of the Catholic and Protestant missionary upon each body. For a general overview of these little known and little understood historic churches, this is an excellent work that promotes appreciation for their tenacity and faithfulness to their church in spite of tremendous pressures to eliminate them.

Attwater, Donald. *The Christian Churches of the East*. Rev. ed. 2 vols. Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1961-1962.

The two volumes are divided between Churches in communion with Rome (volume one) and Churches not in communion with Rome (volume two). A chapter is devoted to each church communion, but only the briefest of the initial evangelization of each is included. The value of the work is in the identification and description of each communion. There is a better description than most of missions from the Russian Orthodox Church to neighboring tribes. As a good Catholic, the author still brands the Nestorian Church as heretical, although stating that the small remnant of that ancient church today holds primarily to orthodox Christian beliefs.

Hussey, J.M. *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1986.

This volume covers only the development and life of the Orthodox Church within the Byzantine Empire (until the conquest of the Ottoman Turks in 1453). Unlike Ware, this author includes earlier sporadic mission among neighboring peoples before the primary mission to the Slavs. As the Orthodox Church has not generally been missionary outside of the Middle Age mission to the Slavs, there is little else to report. However, an interesting story is included of a twentieth century African-initiated establishment of the Orthodox Church within Uganda and Kenya.

Stewart, John. *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise: The Story of a Church on Fire*. With foreword by Samuel M. Zwemer. Edinburgh, UK: T. & T. Clark, 1928.

Both the author and Zwemer in his foreword take the position that the Nestorian Church has erroneously suffered the label of schismatic and heretical down through the ages. They point to the historical record of the devotion and loyalty to Christ and His Great Commission throughout the ages at the expense of tremendous suffering and incalculable numbers of martyrs. The author traces the far-reaching missionary expansion of the Nestorian Church through the paucity of original source documents. In many cases his historical narrative is quite tedious, as he explores each mention of the church in various regions to support evidence for the existence of the church in those areas at early dates. He covers Nestorian mission efforts to Arabia, India, Central and Eastern Asia, Mongolia, Siberia, China and Japan. His thesis is that two key factors precipitated the missionary outreach of the Church of the East: persecution and the monastic orders. He concludes with the reasons for the disappearance of the Church of the East from most of

Asia: compromise and syncretism with other religions; persecution; and widespread extermination by outside forces. One walks away from reading this volume deeply impressed with the sheer number and means of suffering, death and martyrdom the Church of the East regularly endured.

Vine, Aubrey R. *The Nestorian Churches: A Concise History of Nestorian Christianity in Asia from the Persian Schism to the Modern Assyrians*. Foreword by His Beatitude Mar Eshai Shimun, Patriarch of the East. London: Independent Press, LTD, 1937.

This is a complete, yet concise history of the Church of the East, from its origins (theological and cultural) down to the surviving remnants during the days of the author. He draws primarily on secondary resources, and in places one can detect the heavy influence of Laurence Browne's history, *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, whose work appeared only a few years prior. The author covers enough detail to enable the reader to understand the uniqueness of the Church of the East without overburdening the reader with theological or ecclesiastical elements. The book primarily addresses the homeland of the Church of the East in Persia, but significant attention is also given to China and Central Asia. Brief word is made of Arabia and India. The author utilizes maps (hand-drawn!) and provides a useful index of the variant spellings of names and identification of places.

Ware, Timothy. *The Orthodox Church*. Rev. ed. London: Penguin Books, 1997.

Ware gives us a brief, lay-friendly overview of the Orthodox Church. A couple of small sections include information on Orthodox missions, which in essence is primarily

mission to the Slavs. A very brief mention is made of Russian Orthodox mission to eastern tribes in the nation of Russia.

Asia - General

Browne, Laurence E. *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia: From the Time of Muhammad till the Fourteenth Century*. New York: Howard Fertig, 1967. First published in 1933 by Cambridge University Press.

The author of this book is seeking to answer the question of why Christianity died out in Asia, focusing on the interaction and impact Islam had on the Christian communities of Asia. The author widely uses primary resources, both Christian and Muslim, and draws conclusions that might be disputed by others. For instance, whereas Moffett concludes that the primary reason for the decline of Christianity in Asia is due to severe and prolonged persecution, Browne concludes that the main factor was weakness in the Asian church itself—in theology (too great an emphasis on asceticism as the ideal Christian life and a weak Christology), mission methods (mass evangelism without sufficient discipleship), and especially in character of leadership (lust for power and infighting). Browne also takes at face value the charge of the Italian William Rubruck against the character of the Nestorian Christians he found in the Mongolian realm of China as a prime reason for the eclipse of the church in China. Moffett on the other hand, grants a degree of truth in Rubruck's reports, but suggests Roman prejudice against the Church of the East. Both Moffett and Browne agree that excessive support on the emperor of China and the foreignness of the faith which never truly entered Chinese culture ultimately led to its destruction in that land.

Browne uses the primary sources to demonstrate that prior to the Crusades Muslims and Christians lived mostly at peace with one another with great interaction. He recounts the influence Christianity had upon Islamic development and pines that the church missed a great opportunity for witness due to the weakness of the theology and life of the church under Islam. Concerning the Mongols, Browne demonstrates how various Mongol rulers hesitated between Christianity and Islam. Browne concludes, probably accurately, that following the fall of the final Crusader stronghold and the victory of Egyptian Muslims over a combined Mongol and Christian army, the Mongol rulers determined that Islam must be the truer of the two faiths due to the “divine proof” of victory over enemies. Browne extends that argument to the reason many Christians in West Asia eventually abandoned their faith and became Muslims.

Even though the aim of the book is to answer his thesis question, this book is very useful as a supplementary history of the Church of the East. Many, however, might find objectionable many of the conclusions which Browne draws.

Gillaman, Ian, and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. *Christians in Asia before 1500*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University Of Michigan Press, 1999.

This volume focuses in on early Christianity in Asia before the period of European exploration, about which so little is known due to the nature of the resources. The areas covered are Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Armenia, Georgia, Persia, India, Central Asia, China and Southeast Asia. A good bibliography and a great chronological chart are included.

Moffett, Samuel Hugh. *A History of Christianity in Asia*. Vol. 1, *Beginnnings to 1500*. 2nd ed. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998; *A History of Christianity in Asia*. Vol. 2, *1500-1900*. American Society of Missiology 36. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005.

Moffett's work is the definitive comprehensive resource on the history of mission and Christianity in all of Asia, from the Southeast Asian islands to Turkey and Syria in the Middle East. He includes all branches of the church—Catholic, Orthodox, all non-Greek Eastern churches and Protestant. With great organization, sufficient but not overwhelming detail and intriguing stories mixed in, this extensive history is very readable providing the reader with a broad and in-depth history of Christianity in Asia. Moffett, who was born and served in Asia, includes his own valuable historical interpretations periodically and provides a number of maps and an extensive bibliography.

Zwemer, Samuel M. *The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia*. London: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., 1911.

Although not a resource documenting the expansion of Christianity globally, this is a significant book for understanding missionary zeal driving the expansion of the Christian faith in the past century. Zwemer, a missionary to Muslims himself, was actively involved in recruiting missionaries through the Student Volunteer Movement at the turn of the twentieth century. This book is his appeal to Student Volunteers to leave their comfortable lives and embrace the call of the "unoccupied fields." He carefully draws a picture of the world's unoccupied fields (excluding Latin America), the need of those countries and peoples for the gospel and the moral and social transformation that the gospel brings. His concluding chapter, "The Glory of the Impossible," has become a

rallying call even today and is included in the *Perspectives Reader*. This book was written on the heels of the famous World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, a catalyst along with the Student Volunteer Movement for a new burst of Protestant mission service and penetration of previously unoccupied fields.

East Asia

Bays, Daniel H., ed. *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996.

This is not a mission history but a history of the indigenization of the Christian faith into Chinese society so that one can speak today of the Chinese church rather than the mission church of China. The native rather than the foreigner is kept at the center of the study, with the use of Chinese sources dominating over foreign ones. The scholars who wrote the various articles in this compilation, however, are mostly Western. The organizing theme of this volume is the role of Christianity in Chinese social, political and intellectual history. A wonderful entire section is given to the influence of Christianity on Chinese women.

Cary, Otis. *A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Protestant Missions*. Reprint, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1976. Originally published in two volumes in 1909 by Fleming H. Revell Co.

Otis Cary was a missionary to Japan under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the nineteenth century. He attempted a complete history of missions in Japan, albeit with his own Protestant bias and more dependence on the primary sources of his own mission society than of others. The scope of the history

concludes in the year 1907. Out of popular demand, his grandson and namesake, Otis Cary, republished Cary's original two volumes into one volume.

Charbonnier, Jean-Pierre. *Christians in China: AD 600 to 2000*. Translated by M.N.L. Couve De Murville. San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2002.

This mission history seeks to keep the Chinese at the center of the story rather than the foreigner. Although this emphasis is scattered throughout, an entire section is given to Chinese witness to the faith. Written by a Catholic, it primarily covers Catholic missions, but a good and fair chapter is written on Protestant missions. A chapter is also devoted to Chinese missionaries abroad, but it describes only missionaries to the Chinese diaspora. A strong bibliography is included, one for English, one for French and other languages, and one for Chinese-language resources.

The China Mission Year Book. (Also published as *The China Christian Yearbook*.) 21 volumes. Various editors. Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1910-1940.

These volumes contain a yearly report of the work of multiple denominational and non-denominational Protestant societies working in China in various types of ministries. Articles are written by the missionaries concerning their work and the issues and problems they face. Articles are also included on contemporary movements within China and the Chinese church. These yearbooks provide an annual overview of Christian mission in China up until the Communist takeover and the expulsion of missionaries in 1949 in China.

The Christian Movement in Japan. (Also published as *The Japan Christian Yearbook.*) 58 volumes, covering the years, generally one volume per year, 1910-1970. Numerous editors. Tokyo: Christian Literature Society of Japan, 1970. Originally published in Yokohama, Japan by the Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Mission; *Christianity in Japan, 1971-90.* Compiled and edited by Kumazawa Yoshinobu and David L. Swain. Tokyo: The Christian Literature Society of Japan, 1991.

These volumes contain an annual report of the works of all the missions in Japan, including Catholic and Orthodox, and even quasi-Christian groups of Unitarian and Universalists. Later volumes focus on the Japanese church, rather than the missions. A follow-up volume was produced in 1991. It is good to know such documentation exists in one place if one wanted to investigate more deeply a particular mission's work in a particular year or locality.

Drummond, Richard Henry. *A History of Christianity in Japan.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1971.

Richard Drummond, himself a missionary to Japan in the mid-twentieth century, aims to produce a more accessible and updated history of the Christian movement in Japan. He gives homage to Otis Cary's work and a to Japanese-written history of Christianity published in 1949. Drummond's work is much shorter than Cary's; he refers to it as a "survey." It does, however, include Catholic and Orthodox missions, along with Protestant. Drummond includes the stories and work of key Japanese personnel in the development of the Japanese church. He includes the development of the church and missions in the key post-war times of World War I and II.

Iglehart, Charles W. *A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1959.

Iglehart deals not just with Protestant missions, but with the development of the small Protestant Church within Japan, set in the rapidly-changing political and cultural context of the one-hundred-year period. It was written to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of Protestant missions in Japan. It is intended as a popular-read; no bibliography or citing of sources is included.

Kim, InSoo. *History of Christianity in Korea*. Seoul: Qumran Publishing House, 2011.

The author, a Presbyterian seminary professor in America and Korea, has produced in English a work he had earlier written in Korean for his Korean students. His purpose in writing was to explain the reason for the rapid growth of the Church in Korea. This volume is a complete (beginning with possible Nestorian mission encounter), yet simplified history of the Church in Korea, which recounts not only the history, but theological and ecclesiological developments. The author frequently theologizes historical events from the perspective of a Korean.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of Christian Missions in China*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929.

Latourette, as might be expected, delivers up the definitive complete historical work of missions in China up until the year 1926. The author begins with the first known entrance of the gospel into China via Nestorian missionaries in the fifth century and traces the re-entrance of Christianity into China through Catholic missions during the Mongolian dynasties and again through the Jesuits in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries. He then picks up the trail of the Russian Orthodox mission ventures into China

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, followed by the coming of the Protestants in the nineteenth century. Admittedly Protestant, Latourette strives to be as complete and objective as possible in presenting the history of all Christian missions, no matter their religious affiliation. He drew as much as possible from primary sources, and his bibliography is an extensive resource for further study. Ahead of his time, Latourette recognizes that he writes as a Westerner and the limitations that brings. He anticipates the day when Chinese historians will document the history of missions and the Chinese church from the perspective of the Chinese.

MacGillivray, D., ed. *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*. Shanghai: The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907.

This volume was prepared for the Centenary Conference of 1907 with the intention of presenting a summary of all the work of all the societies at work in China over the past one hundred years. The volume was limited by the lack or incompleteness of submissions from each agency on their work. However, it is major work highlighting the ministries of European, American and other national societies within China from Protestant inception in 1807 throughout the nineteenth century. It includes tables of statistics, chronology, lists of martyrs (all foreigners), and a good bibliography.

Mullins, Mark R., ed. *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Five: Japan, edited by Mark Blum, R. Kersten, and M.F. Low, vol. 10. Leiden, NL: Brill, 2003.

Like the Brill *Handbook* on Christianity in China, this is not a history of missions in Japan, but rather can be seen as a companion volume. It does cover the introduction of Christianity into Japan and the institutional development of the churches. But it also

seeks to record the Japanese response to Christianity and the broader cultural impact Christianity has had on Japan. The last section is of particular interest to the Japanese researcher, as it documents the archival resources that are available in Japanese institutions for the study of Christianity in Japan.

Paik, George L. *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, 2nd ed. No. 6 in a series of reprints of Western books on Korea with a foreword by Samuel H. Moffett. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970.

The genius of this volume is that it is written by a Korean, the fruit of mission activity in Korea, who was educated in the United States, the country from which most missionaries to Korea originated. He brings an understanding of both the recipients of mission and the extenders of mission in his writing of the history of Protestant missions in his own country. His work covers the period of the first Protestant contact with Korea in 1832 until Korea was annexed to Japan in 1910. He does provide a brief overview of Catholic Jesuit mission in Korea that preceded the Protestants. In the foreword of the second edition, Dr. Samuel Moffett calls this book the most important single volume on Korean mission and church history.

Rhodes, Harry A., ed. *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A.*, Vol. 1, 1884-1934. Seoul: Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A, 1934; Rhodes, Harry A. and Archibald Campbell, eds. *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, Vol. 2, 1935-1959. New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1964.

These two volumes are included because of the primary impact of Presbyterian missions on the Korean people. The editors strive as best as possible to present a complete picture of almost eighty years of mission and the resultant Korean church.

Ronan, Charles F. and Bonnie B. C. Oh, eds. *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988.

Written from a Catholic perspective, this monograph examines specifically Matteo Ricci and the Jesuits who followed him, their methods of cultural accommodation and bridge they built between East and West. This book is significant since Ricci and the Jesuits were the primary influencers on the early evangelization of China.

Standaert, Nicholas, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China*. Vol. 1, 635-1800. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Four: China, edited by E. Zürcher, S.F. Teiser, and M. Kern, vol. 15/1. Leiden, NL: Brill, 2001.

This is another excellent contribution by Brill in their series on the histories of Christianity in various global regions. The impetus for this expansive volume is the “paradigm shift,” as the editor states it, in historical research in the later part of the twentieth century from Western-centric to Sino-centric studies. Therefore the Chinese sources are magnified, while still including Western sources. This Handbook is not an attempt to give a general history of Christianity in China, to which the editor refers one to Latourette’s *A History of Christian Missions in China* as still the best resource. This Handbook provides the serious researcher with an outline of the history and evaluation of sources in over ten languages on the topic. The sources, the missionaries, the Chinese recipients, the environment and related themes are explored, organized by the period of successive Chinese dynasties. For serious research, this is an excellent companion volume to Latourette or Moffett’s work.

Southeast Asia

Anderson, Gerald H., ed. *Studies in Philippine Church History*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969.

This history, unusual for its time, was produced by a collaboration of scholars, clergy and lay persons from Roman Catholic, Anglican and Protestant traditions. The unusual nature of the Philippine Islands turning in mass to Christianity means the mission story is small compared to the greater story of the development of the church and relation of the church to political and social upheavals, of which the preponderance of the book entails. The extensive bibliographical survey of Philippine church history by John N. Schumacher and Gerald Anderson provides a descriptive survey of the resources available for further study.

Aritonang, Jan Sihar, and Karel Steenbrink, eds. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Studies in Christian Mission, edited by Marc R. Spindler, vol. 35. Leiden, NL: Brill, 2008.

The goal of this extensive history written by authors hailing primarily from Indonesia or the Netherlands is to provide a thorough English-language history in one volume. It reflects recent scholarship trends to highlight local actors rather than foreigners on mission. The editors in the Introduction clearly present their objectives:

“The local people were not the passive receiving side of the process of religious change, but are seen here as the acting and deciding party that took up the opportunity of the presence of a new religious system of meaning. In general, more emphasis has been given to the origins and the first deciding decades in the founding of Christian communities than to the later institutional development. As in most historical writings, the moments of change, their causes and consequences dominate this history.” (pp. vii-viii)

The three major streams of Christianity pertinent to the Indonesian islands are covered: the classical Reformed and Lutheran traditions; the newer Evangelical and

Pentecostal churches; and the Catholic Church. Interestingly, the editors include a Muslim scholar in the writing process to adequately reflect the situation of the Christian church in a predominately Muslim nation. It is a pity that the editors did not secure an Evangelical Pentecostal to author the section on modern Evangelicals and Pentecostals. The author drew primarily from a doctoral dissertation by a student of a Reformed seminary for his source, and the tone was often subtly derisive of Pentecostals. Many of the authors sought to give both the methods and motives for conversion. The chapters on the twentieth century, especially the last decades of the century elaborate more on the political and religious factors impacting the church, going into much detail at times on religious schisms and political and social persecutions.

Pedersen, Paul Bodholdt. *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul: The Development of National Batak Churches in North Sumatra*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970.

The focus of this monograph is mainly on the growth and development of the Batak church of Indonesia, but includes the initial penetration of the gospel and the work of the various mission societies, including Roman Catholics. It tells the wonderful story of the mass movement to Christianity among the Batak and includes the work of Batak, not just foreign, evangelists and missionaries. The author includes a helpful bibliography for further study.

Phan, Peter C. *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998.

This book is specifically about Alexandre de Rhodes and his missionary methods in Tonkin and Cochinchina (roughly corresponding to modern-day Vietnam). But since

de Rhodes is the apostle of Vietnam—the first to truly see the church planted among the Vietnamese people—this work reveals the entrance of the gospel into Vietnam. The Vietnamese author explores de Rhodes theology and methods, especially studying his famous Catechesis, the first printed work in the Vietnamese language, in light of seventeenth century Vietnamese cultural and religious traditions and in light of today's theories and methods of inculturation. Reading de Rhodes own writings and explanation of his methods is instructive for evangelization of Vietnamese today.

Purser, W.C.B. *Christian Missions in Burma*. Westminster, UK: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1911.

A product of its time, this book by a British S.P.G. missionary provides a turn-of-the-century look at Burma and its people and the future of missions. It gives a brief history of the entrance of the gospel into Burma and of the various missions that have served in the land, although much emphasis is given to British missions. An overview of the major people groups and their receptivity to the gospel is given, as well as a fuller description of the Buddhism and animism practiced by the people. Recent global or regional mission histories would provide a fuller and more objective view of the history of Christianity in Burma.

Tuggy, Arthur. *The Philippine Church: Growth in a Changing Society*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971.

This is a history of the Philippine church from its inception (both Catholic and Protestant) with a focus not on missions, but the social structure and environment in which the church developed.

Van Akkeren, Philip. *Sri and Christ: A Study of the Indigenous Church in East Java*. Translated by Annebeth Mackie. World Studies of Churches in Mission. London: Lutterworth Press, 1970.

Written by a life-long missionary to the Javanese, the primary focus of this book is upon the cultural interaction of the gospel and the Javanese church with the homogeneous Javanese culture. However, in the process, the history of the evangelization of the Javanese is told.

Wells, Kenneth E. *History of Protestant Work in Thailand, 1828-1958*. Bangkok: Church Of Christ in Thailand, 1958.

This work is included because it is a first-hand account from eye-witnesses and relatives of eye-witnesses to the initial Protestant work and conversions in Thailand. The author seeks to cover all major missions working in Thailand during this timeframe.

Willis, Avery T., Jr. *Indonesian Revival: Why Two Million Came to Christ*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977.

This is Willis' personal experience as a missionary to the Javanese of a mass movement to Christ bringing two million Javanese into the Christian faith between 1965 and 1971. This book is a result of his research of the how and why of this movement.

Zwemer, Samuel M. and Thur Judson Brown. *The Nearer and Farther East: Outline Studies of Moslem Lands and of Siam, Burma, and Korea*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908.

Zwemer writes on the Muslim lands and Brown on the lands of the Orient. Zwemer begins his section with a description of Islam and the lands where it is prevalent. He spares no words describing the social ills of Islam, complete with eye-witness testimonies. His description of Islam today would bring a great outcry by Muslim and Christian alike. Zwemer mentions that many Arab tribes were Christian before

Mohammed but does not enlighten the reader as to how that came to be. He begins his account of missions to Muslims with Raymond Lull, jumping over five centuries to next describe the ministry of Henry Martyn, the first Protestant missionary to Muslims who translated the Scripture into Persian and attempted an Arabic translation, and Karl Gottlieb Pfander, who first wrote apologetic tracts to be distributed in Muslim lands. Zwemer then describes the Protestant work in each of the major Muslim lands and makes an urgent appeal for the completely unoccupied Muslim lands.

Brown follows the same general outline for each of the three regions he covers: Siam, Burma and Korea. He begins by describing the country and people, a bit of history and religion and then unfolds the story of the work of Protestant missions among them. Like Zwemer, Brown makes an urgent plea for more mission effort in these lands, presenting before his readers the great opportunities that wait.

South Asia

Frykenberg, Robert Eric. *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*. Oxford History of the Christian Church, edited by Henry and Owen Chadwick. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008.

The author, who was born and spent his professional career in India, writes the most Indo-centric history of Christianity in India to date. It is definitely not a mission history – missionaries and agencies are only mentioned as they impact the development of Indian Christianity, and even then selectively—but a history of Indian Christianity. Case in point: there is only one page given to William Carey and none to Mother Teresa!

Besides the fact that according to the author, every type of Christianity that has been developed on the earth has found a home in some place or another in India, he adds

that there is not a monolithic “Indian Christian” as Christianity in India is truly indigenized within each language, culture and caste. Frykenberg seeks to answer the question of why some Indian communities embraced Christianity and others did not, as due, in large part, to the primal (not to be equated with primitive) religion underlying the beliefs of the various communities. He describes how that due to the inherent caste system, which no Indian can truly escape and which remains the thorny issue for Indian Christians, believers in India hold dual identities: united as one in the universal body of Christ, but separate by birth, blood and land by inherent identity in culture and worldview.

Frykenberg begins his work by evaluating all past works on the history of Indian Christianity, providing an excellent analysis of each. His large bibliography and glossary supplements the work.

Kuriakosse, M.K., comp. *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials*. Edited by Franklyn J. Balasundaram. Delhi, India: ISPCK, 1982.

This unique book collects and prints selections from ancient documents, letters, journals, church and government decrees, and mission reports from the all traditions related to Christianity in India up through 1975. As an interesting example, a 1929 documented conversation between John R. Mott and Gandhi is recorded.

Moraes, George Mark. *A History of Christianity in India from Early Times to St. Francis Xavier: AD 52-1542*. Bombay, India: Manaktalas and Sons Private LTD, 1964.

Authored by an Indian Catholic and well-credentialed historian, Moraes determined to produce this history after a large volume of original sources were made available by the Catholic Church and published providing insight into early Portuguese

mission history. Like Neill, yet writing before him, Moraes provides an extensive overview of the amount of interactions between ancient India and the West and Persia prior to the first century AD, a necessary backdrop for understanding how Christianity early entered India. He, however, takes as fact that Jesus divided the world among his disciples and the lot fell to Thomas and Bartholomew to go to India, using sketchy historical records and archeology to substantiate the legend. Moraes also makes the interesting claim that Greek was the liturgical language of the very early Indian church rather than Syriac. He concludes his history with the statement that it is amazing that Christianity survived at all during the first fifteen hundred years, and attributes the reason to “the large-heartedness and spirit of tolerance of our Hindu brethren.” (p. 295) He obviously reflects a different viewpoint than that of a Westerner.

Mundadan, A. Mathias. *History of Christianity in India*. Vol. 1, *From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century (up to 1542)*. A Series by the Church History Association of India (CHAI), edited by D.V. Singh. Bangalore, India: Theological Publications in India, 1984.

This series, a comprehensive, multivolume work (six volumes expected) from the sub-continent of India itself on its own Christian history, is a welcome addition. The editorial board for the series are all scholars within India teaching church history in India's colleges and hail from Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Mar Thoma traditions. The intent was to write history from a new perspective, as identified in the following statement in the editorial foreword:

“The History of Christianity in India is viewed as an integral part of the socio-cultural history of the Indian people rather than as separate from it. The history will, therefore, focus attention upon the Christian people in India: upon who they were and how they understood themselves; upon their social, religious, cultural and political encounters, upon the changes which these encounters produced in

them and in the appropriation of the Christian gospel, as well as in the Indian culture and society of which they themselves were a part.” (p. vii)

The thorny question of whether the legends and tradition of Christianity coming to India via the Apostle Thomas is true and whether that was in North India or South India is tackled by the author, himself a member of the Syrian Christian community. He documents the arguments and support for all sides of the controversy and concludes that the weight lies with St. Thomas coming to South India. Mundadan takes an objective view of Portuguese missions, commending the value they contributed, but bemoaning the negative effect their methods had on the spread of Christianity in India and on the fledgling Indian church. A bibliography of published and unpublished sources is included.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christianity in India*. 2 volumes. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984-1985.

This magisterial work by Neill in two volumes is still the primary resource in English by a Western author for a history up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Written in his retirement, Neill's primary interest originally was on researching the Saint Thomas Christians of South India, where his missionary career occurred. But as he researched he realized the need for a complete history of the entire subcontinent that equally and impartially covers Catholic, Protestant and Anglican missions and churches as well as the excellent coverage he provides of the St. Thomas Christians. He was prescient enough to recognize that a complete story needed the Indian voice, not just the voice of the Western missionary. He is diligent to incorporate preserved records of Indian converts as soon as they began to appear in the historical record, recognizing the need

and hoping for Indian researchers to come along behind him and tell the story from their perspective. Neill also is diligent to continually educate readers on the political, social and religious environment of Indians in each period, beginning his work with an extensive section on ancient Indian history, the Vedas and the emergence of Hinduism.

As the number of Indian Christians and the number of missionaries expands in India, Neill pauses to evaluate the impact on Indian society Christianity was making and the reaction, both positive and negative, from the Indian peoples. While fully recognizing the negative impact of colonialism and the abuses of European governments and peoples, he also takes to task the polarizing view that nothing that the Europeans gave to India was worth the price paid by the Indians. Neill includes a select bibliography with annotation.

Richter, Julius. *A History of Missions in India*. Translated by Sydney H. Moore. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908.

This history is a sweeping overview for a very large land. Richter begins with the improvable accounts of the Apostle Thomas landing on the southwestern coast of India in the first century and the scant other references to the early church in India. He then picks up the story with the landing of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century and covers the mission of the Catholic Church. His next section covers the Danish missionary outreach and then the wave of Protestant outreach beginning with William Carey. The second half of Richter's work covers the interaction with Indian society, missionary organization and types, and the results of missionary work. An appendix attempts a statistical overview of the church of India broken down between geographical area and denomination. While Richter's history used to be a standard tome, it is now so outdated and so many other excellent histories have replaced it that it is no longer germane.

Thekkedath, Joseph. *History of Christianity in India. Vol. 2, From the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the End of the Seventeenth Century (1542-1700)*. A Series by the Church History Association of India (CHAI), edited by D.V. Singh. Bangalore, India: Theological Publications in India, 1982.

This is the second volume of a planned six volume work by Indian church historians. The period in this volume begins with the ministry of Francis Xavier since this marked a significant change in mission methods (and results) in India. Making use of troves of primary sources made available for the first time only recently, including the writings of Francis Xavier, Thekkedath is able to offer a broader depth to the history of this period. Through his intimate knowledge of his own land and cultures, he is able to apply the knowledge gained with greater understanding of the mission results in the lives of Indians. He does not cover this period chronologically, treating India as one cohesive whole, but geographically region by region. He includes the environmental situation of each area, as well as the relationship of the Christians of the area to other Christians and to non-Christians. A generous bibliography is included.

Thomas, P. *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan: A General Survey of the Progress of Christianity in India from Apostolic Times to the Present Day*. London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1954.

Written by an Indian Christian born and reared in a family of Syrian Christians who trace their origins to the Apostle Thomas, the author seeks to lend weight to the ancient traditions, interpreting them through the eyes of the immediate community involved. Due to his roots, more in depth information is included on South Indian Syrian Christians than other histories. He recounts the main outline and events of missions to India, and with an Indian eye, focuses in on the behavior of both European settlers and of

missionaries. He includes an interesting chapter on the influence of Christianity on Hinduism.

Central Asia

Arpee, Leon. *A History of Armenian Christianity: from the Beginning to Our Own Time*. New York: The Armenian Missionary Association of America, 1946.

As might be expected, a work by Armenians themselves of their own history is going to be the most complete. This volume begins with the pre-Christian state of the Armenians and follows the Church and people's history up through modern times.

Blincoe, Robert. *Ethnic Realities and the Church, Lessons from Kurdistan: A History of Mission Work, 1668-1990*. Pasadena, CA: Presbyterian Center for Mission Studies, 1998.

This is not a history of mission to the Kurds, for one of the main points of the author is that very little mission work has been focused upon the Kurds. However, what little mission took place (up to 1990) to the Kurds is included. Blincoe records in detail, using primary sources of journals and letters, mission work to the ancient churches located in the region known as Kurdistan, the homeland of the Kurds. The author's main critique is of a several-hundred year mission strategy that intended to reach the majority people (Kurds) through renewal of the ancient churches. That strategy failed over and over; Blincoe provides the reasons why and suggests missiological and biblical strategies for a mission to the Kurds. The author's research provides an answer to the question of what happened to the ancient Nestorian and Syrian Church, which found their last surviving strongholds in this area.

Cable, Mildred, F. Houghton, R. Kilgour, A. McLeish, R.W. Sturt, and Olive Wyon. *The Challenge of Central Asia: A Brief Survey of Tibet and its Borderlands, Mongolia, North-West Kansu, Chinese Turkistan, and Russian Central Asia*. World Dominion Survey Series. London: World Dominion Press, 1929.

The authors begin with a brief history of the region and a sketchy overview of Nestorian and Medieval missions into Central Asia. They then proceed to describe each individual region listed in the title and the entrance of Catholic orders (in some cases) and especially of the beginnings of Protestant missions. Most Protestant missions did not enter the area until the late nineteenth century, so at the time of the writing, these missions were still quite young. The book lists through description and a statistical table all the known mission organizations working in the regions with locations of the mission stations and numbers of personnel. Special attention is given to Bible translation into the multiple tongues of the region. A good beginning is given to a naming and description of people groups in each region.

Waterfield, Robin E. *Christians in Persia*. New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1973.

This small work traces the history of the church in the region of Persia from inception in the second century until 1960. The ancient Persian (Nestorian) church gradually diminished into the small surviving communities of Assyrian and Chaldean communities and large numbers of Armenian Christians were forcibly resettled into Persia in the fifteenth century who remain to this day. The author covers all these Christian communities in Persia, as well as Catholic and Protestant mission advances. Although writing in the latter part of the twentieth century, the author does not reflect the new historiography of recognizing and recording the contribution of indigenous believers. This is a work typical of earlier decades in recording in great detail the

activities of the foreign mission community. Curiously, while not himself a Persian, Waterfield periodically refers to characteristics “common to Persians.” Whether that is a valid observation, a Persian would have to determine. Positively, the author sets the story of the church sufficiently within the political, cultural and religious environment of Persia to understand some of the impact of the environment on the church and mission. All in all this is a good readable single volume for a history of Christianity in Persia up to the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

Russia and Eastern Europe

Bailey, J. Martin. *Stories from the History of Christianity in the USSR: 988-1988*. New York: Friendship Press, 1987.

This small book is included only because it provides stories from Russian Christian history. What is history without stories? Authored by a Protestant Christian on the eve of the millennial celebration of Christianity in Russia, it includes stories of key Christian leaders over the centuries.

Dvornik, Francis. *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs*. Rutgers Byzantine Series, edited by Peter Charanis. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1970.

The author is an expert on Slavonic history and in this work concentrates specifically on Byzantine missions to the Slavs. Dvornik begins earlier than most with the initial attempt to evangelize the Croats in the seventh century. His work is very detailed and includes the very important political and religious environment of the Middle Ages and the impact on the conversion of the various cultures. The author draws extensively on primary sources and archeological finds. This is the most complete mission history of any of the other works mentioned here on mission to Slavic peoples.

Kloczowski, Jerzy. *A History of Polish Christianity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Authored by a respected Polish Catholic scholar and historian, this is the only extant one-volume work on Polish Christian history. Because of the shifting nature of Polish boundaries, this volume includes some of the Christian history of Lithuania, Byelorussia, and Ukraine as well. The author sets the Christian history within the greater context of the events of Western and Eastern Christianity, as well as the general history of Central Europe. Special attention is also given to the Jewish communities in Poland. Though all church traditions are included in the study, quite naturally Roman Catholicism is prevalent. A series of helpful maps are included.

Shubin, Daniel H. *A History of Russian Christianity*. Vol. 2, *The Patriarchal Era through Tsar Peter the Great: 1586 to 1725*. New York: Algora Publishing, 2005.

In the multi-volume series, the author recounts events, politics and people in the formation and development of the Russian Orthodox Church, the teachings and liturgy of the Church, the interaction with the Tsars and populace and the role of the mystics and monks up to 1990. He also records other aspects of Russian spirituality: the dissenters and sects, Catholics, Protestants and Judaism. The author draws from only Russian sources. This volume covers the development of the Russian patriarchate, working its way through each of the patriarchs of the period in view. I have been unable to locate other volumes in the series.

Spinka, Matthew. *A History of Christianity in the Balkans: A Study in the Spread of Byzantine Culture Among the Slavs*. United States: Archon Books, 1968.

Only the first chapter speaks to the initial evangelization of the Balkan peoples, but that chapter is detailed and begins its coverage with the Apostle Paul. The author's intent is to demonstrate that Christianization and Byzantinization went hand-in-hand, transforming the pagan primitive Slavic peoples into the civilized Christian peoples of Europe. According to the author, this is the only work of its kind on the Balkan peoples.

Tachiaos, Anthony-Emil N. *Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica: The Acculturation of the Slavs*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001.

This is a history of the beginnings of the Slavic church written by one within the tradition of Eastern Orthodoxy. The author was formerly a professor of Slavic ecclesiastical history and literature at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. This book is really more a biography of Cyril and Methodius' life, giving a personal picture of how they advocated and engaged in the evangelization of the Slavs, making their greatest contribution through the production of a Slavic written language and the scriptures in the Slavic tongue. The author uses primary documents and in the telling of the story, shows that the adoption of Christianity by the Moravians, Bulgarians, Serbs and other Slavic peoples during and immediately after the time of the two apostles was as much politically motivated as spiritually motivated, during a tug of war between Byzantium and Rome.

Wardin, Albert W. *Evangelical Sectarianism in the Russian Empire and the USSR: A Bibliographic Guide*. ATLA Bibliography Series, edited by Kenneth E. Rowe, no. 36. Lanham, MD: American Theological Library Association / Scarecrow Press, 1995.

Wardin presents the serious researcher with an extensive bibliographic guide containing over eleven thousand entries in seventeen languages on Evangelical and Pietistic missions, churches and organizations in Russia from 1693 to present. Organized in chronological sections, each section includes a short helpful overview of the period.

Middle East and North Africa

Badr, Habib, ed. *Christianity: A History in the Middle East*. Translated by George Sabra, Nuha Jurayj, and Najla Salman Prothro. Beirut, Lebanon: Middle East Council of Churches/Studies and Research Program, 2005.

This volume represents what is hoped all regions will produce: an encompassing record of its Christian history researched and written by the residents and native speakers of the region. The forty-seven articles in the book were almost all authored by Middle Easterners. This must be one of the most valuable works to Middle Eastern church communions to have emerged in some time. It not only sets Arab Christianity solidly within Arab environments, it explains the impact Western, Byzantine, Persian and Islamic influences had on the theology and practice of the churches and how and why there are so many splinter groups in Middle Eastern Christianity. The book explores not only the theology and practice of the various groups, but also the art, architecture, music, poetry and contributions of the Christians to their society. The story begins with Arab Christianity from the first century up through modern missions and current ecumenical movements in the region. No attempt is made to synthesize the conclusions and opinions

or theologies of the various writers, but a strong attempt was made to keep one position from attacking another in the method of presentation. This is a very valuable resource to the global church as well in understanding Middle Eastern Christianity from the perspective of Middle Easterners.

Colbi, Saul P. *A History of the Christian Presence in the Holy Land*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988.

The author relates the history of the Church in the Holy Land in order to grant greater understanding of the conflicts and situation of the church in contemporary Israel. The immediate impression the reader receives is that the Holy Land has always been a place of a multitude of Christian traditions and expressions of the church, and that the focus of those bodies more often than not centers on the holy places and structures in the Holy Land. Part One of the book covers the history throughout successive ruling empires: Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Frankish, Mamluk, Ottoman, British and Independent Israeli. In each period, the author gives the condition of the numerous church bodies, such as Latin, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Nestorian, Uniate, Ethiopian, and later Anglican and Protestant churches. Part Two of the book addresses current problems in relation to places, institutions, peoples, etc. This book is an expanded and updated edition of the author's earlier work, *Christianity in the Holy Land, Past and Present*, published in 1969.

Cragg, Kenneth. *The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East*. Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1991.

Cragg repeats some of the conclusions of Spencer Trimingham, but enlarges upon the concept of Arab identity, explaining why Christian identity was surface and fleeting among Arab tribes and why Islamic identity merged into the Arab soul. Briefer and not

nearly as detailed as Trimingham in recording the early Christian presence among Arabs, both authors arrive essentially at the same place in why Christianity never took a lasting hold on nomadic Arabs, but did so on settled Arabs. Both books taken together produce a much better understanding of the Arab world, past and present, and of Arab Christianity.

Mason, Alfred DeWitt and Frederick J. Barny. *History of Arabian Mission*. New York: The Abbott Press, 1926.

I include this book because of the pioneering nature of this mission in the Arab world. It is a history of the American Arabian Mission, formed in 1889, whose pioneers were Dr. James Cantine and Dr. Samuel Zwemer. This mission was the first to bring light to the missionary responsibility of the church on the Arabian Peninsula, and the first to show that mission to Muslim Arabs was possible. The opening of the book describes the land and its people, religion and history. A very brief history is given of the early evangelization of some Arab tribes before the rise of Islam and the few daunting individuals in later centuries that advocated for and attempted evangelization of Arab Muslims. The American Arabian Mission arose during a time of active global Protestant mission which overlooked and thought impossible mission to Arab Muslims, especially in the heart of the Muslim world: the Arabian Peninsula. The history is a bit tedious, but a seemingly complete record of the early work of the mission and its missionaries.

Meinardus, Otto F.A. *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*. Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 1999.

Written by a leading authority on the Coptic Church, this volume does provide a history of the Coptic Church, but the majority of the book reviews the theology and

movements in the church and describes the churches and monasteries to be found throughout Egypt.

Richter, Julius. *A History of Protestant Mission in the Near East*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1910.

Written by a German mission enthusiast with strong colonial overtones, this book is a product of its time. The author's purpose is to call the church to not overlook the Muslim lands of the "Near East". The Near East consists of Turkey, Persia, Arabia, the Balkan Peninsula, the Levant (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine), Armenia, and northeastern Africa (Egypt and Abyssinia, or Ethiopia). The scope of the work covers only Protestant missions in each of the regions with the goal of revival of "old and venerable, but deplorably decaying Churches of the East." (p. 11) Richter, along with most mission societies of the day, sees revival of ancient churches as preparation for missionary effort to "Muhammadans" even though that ideal has not been realized. He asks the question, is it proper to evangelize Muslims under Muslim rule? Is it even possible? Has the time come to evangelize Muslims? The author answers "yes," but not through aggressive witness; rather through quiet demonstration of Christian life and compassion via educational, medical, literature ministries and ministry among women in order to change the common misconception of Christians among the ordinary Muslim.

Richter presents the general condition of the lands in view and then focuses in on the Protestant missionary enterprise from inception to AD 1900 in each land. He continually takes an exceedingly dim view of Islam and of the ancient churches. The book ends with a brief overview of missions among Jews and a recounting of the importance of Bible translation for work among both the ancient churches and among the

Muslim peoples. A statistical table of the mission societies and number of missionaries and works in each region concludes the work.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1979.

Trimingham pulls together vast and sketchy resources on pre-Islamic Christianity among Arabs into a comprehensible survey of the breadth which Christianity impacted Arab peoples before the emergence of Mohammed. Much weight in the evidence lies in linguistic deduction from the available sources, which makes the reading tedious. The author convincingly shows that Christianity was adopted by large numbers of Arabs before the rise of Islam. He makes the point that it was the settled Arab, whom he denotes Arameans, from whom most conversions came, but nomadic Arab tribes were also converted or in many ways influenced. By explaining the Arab culture and religion before Christ, he draws conclusions of why Christian theology and practice did not naturally attract the nomadic Arab and why it was not retained after the rise of Mohammad. The result of his research presents a fascinating story.

Africa

Agbeti, J. Kofi. *West African Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations: 1482-1919*. Leiden, NL: E.J. Brill, 1986.

Professor Agbeti of Ghana wrote this small textbook to provide a more balanced view of the history of Christian missions in West Africa than is seen in current literature coming from many African Christians, who due to a reaction to colonialism portrayed a mostly negative view of foreign missions. He also sought to fill the gap for a much needed comprehensive, yet accessible textbook for Christian students. He only takes the

historical story up to 1919, for with the advent of World War I many of the mission initiatives were turned over to the indigenous churches. The author divides his work according to the various mission societies from Europe and the USA. His conclusion at the end of the book evaluates the positive and negative results of Western missions on the African church and culture.

Baur, John. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*. 2nd ed. Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 1994.

A Swiss priest, Baur identifies with Africans through his long tenure on the continent, writing from the continent. He clearly states that his intended audience is Catholic students; therefore he gives greater attention to Catholic mission. But as he believes that Catholic students ought to also know the history of Protestant missions on the continent, he does not ignore the Protestant movement. In fact, he treats the “Reformation” missions quite fairly, praising or criticizing both Protestant and Catholic missions where needed. Some of his best sections are comparisons between the methods, goals and motives of the competing missions.

Baur’s work covers the entire continent, from the first and second century beginnings in North Africa up until the time of publication. However, his section on twentieth century Christianity in which he takes a country by country survey is heavily slanted toward Catholic missions. The historical section he covers region by region in three chronological sections. He concludes with a very helpful thematic survey where he describes practices and strategies and draws conclusions on church growth, missionary institutions, the Colonial impact on and through missionaries, and the process of indigenization of the gospel in African culture. The glaring absence of an entire section

on the role of language reduction, Scripture translation and literacy on the African soul can probably be explained by the fact that these were not high priorities for most Catholic missions as they were for Protestant missions.

Chidester, David, Judy Tobler and Darrel Wratten. *Christianity in South Africa: An Annotated Bibliography*. Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies 43. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.

Here is an annotated bibliography covering the Christian missions, the denominations and the African Initiated Churches of South Africa. Only the area of South Africa is included. This is a good resource for sorting through numerous works to discover the jewels for which one is mining literature.

DuPlessis, J. *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911.

DuPlessis primarily focuses upon the history of mission in South Africa before 1850; information from 1850 to 1910 was added, though not his original intent. He covers multiple missions and their ministries, which when seen listed altogether show just how many different mission agencies commenced work in South Africa! Written at an auspicious time, 1910, when in Scotland global mission agencies were meeting together to make united plans at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference. That same year representatives of the different peoples were meeting in Cape Town to create a united South Africa.

Groves, C.P. *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*. 4 volumes. London: Lutterworth Press, 1948-1958.

This older work by Groves covering the entire continent (excluding Madagascar) from early Christian beginnings in Egypt and North Africa up to 1954 was once

considered the standard history. The contrast with this earlier work (though only fifty years old) and current literature is striking. Groves' history is fully European in outlook and subject. For example, the section on the early church in Sierra Leone records only that numbers of repatriated settlers carried the gospel inland back to their homelands but mentions none by name following only the labors of the foreign missionaries. The maps included in the several volumes are excellent in terms of tracing the European-known outline of places and kingdoms and later nations of Africa throughout time. The book lacks a bibliography, but does include an unusual index of a list of Bible translations in African languages, including date of publication.

Hastings, Adrian. *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1994.

A continuation of Hasting's earlier work, *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1974*, this seven hundred page volume is Hasting's magnum opus and the best complete history of black African Christianity (it excludes North African Mediterranean Christian history) as of its publication date. Hastings was a controversial Catholic priest who spent a good portion of his career in Africa, becoming a leading theologian, historian and outspoken defendant of African human rights. Even though he set a beginning date as late as 1450 with Portuguese expansion and missionary impulses, Hastings does set the stage with a brief overview of the beginnings of Christianity in North Africa, Egypt and especially Ethiopia. The work falls naturally in three parts: (1) the medieval environment of European expansion and missionary outreach (1450-1780); (2) the advance unto total colonial subjugation, accompanying missionary outreach and African reaction (1780-1890); (3) Colonial Africa and the Christianization of sub-Saharan Africa (1890-1960).

The third section records the African church situation on the eve of the collapse of colonialism, setting the stage for the wave of African independence movements, both political and religious.

Hastings covers as thoroughly as possible, in a volume of this size, both Protestant and Catholic mission expansion; however, Catholic mission naturally receives greater attention. Although European himself, Hastings diligently strives to include the story of African missionary outreach through evangelists, catechists and ordinary Christians, including telling the story of where the church developed without any European missionary stimulus. He draws a picture for the reader of the typical colonial missionary, mission strategies and the diverse response to African culture. But he also paints the picture of African culture, its historical roots as well as its reaction to and integration of the missionary message. It is this African ingredient that sets Hastings' history apart from earlier Western-written histories of African Christianity. Unfortunately for the individual unfamiliar with African geography and ethnography, Hastings assumes a working knowledge of both, making it difficult to trace the locality and interplay of the story. A good annotated bibliography is provided.

The balanced approach Hastings attempts throughout—between Catholic and Protestant, European and African, regional overview and individual stories, general historical background and Christian religious background—combined with the broad, yet detailed scope of his work, make this a primary volume for any study of the expansion of Christianity in Africa.

Hofmeyr, J.W. and Gerald J. Pillay, editors. *A History of Christianity in South Africa*. Vol. 1. Pretoria: HAUM Tertiary, 1994.

The editors provide a chronological history beginning with Portuguese and Dutch settlements in southern Africa. They include a brief topical bibliography for further reading.

Hofmeyr, J.W. and K.E. Cross, comps. and eds. *History of the Church in Southern Africa: A Select Bibliography of Published Material to 1989*. 3 vols. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1986-1993.

A project of the Institute of Theological Research of the University of South Africa, this bibliographic resource covers not just the history of the churches, but all aspects of the development of the churches of Southern Africa. It also includes bibliographic material from the various mission agencies. The geographical scope covers South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, South West Africa/Namibia, Zimbabwe and the island of St. Helena.

Isichei, Elizabeth. *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995.

Isichei is a historian and professor of religion in New Zealand, but spent many years in Africa and seeks to paint the African back into the picture of the history of Christianity in Africa. She covers the entire continent, from the beginnings of Christianity in North Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia up through the current day, with quite a bit of commentary on the Independent Churches of modern Africa. One of the themes of Isichei's work is the inculturation of the Christian gospel into the African soil. It is unclear her theological bent, but is telling that she demonizes Wycliffe Bible Translators and New Tribes Mission as "extreme right-wing Protestant missionary societies" who are

“fiercely exclusivist.” (p 336) Whether one agrees or disagrees with her frequent commentary, the history she provides of the beginnings of Christianity in each area of Africa is valuable.

Kalu, Ogbu U. *The History of Christianity in West Africa*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1980.

This noted African historian applies the new historiography to study of the introduction of Christianity to West Africa. He examines the African environment to understand the response to the gospel among African communities. But he also believes it is important to understand the missionaries’ home environment to explain the motivations and methods used, as well as the interaction between missions and colonial governments. This history includes both Catholic and Protestant missions, but excludes the early Portuguese Catholic beginnings, as they were mostly chaplaincies to foreign settlers. The approach is thematic and reflects the struggle for the indigenization of the African church; a struggle which was especially at its height at time of publication. Most of the authors of the various articles are Africans.

———, ed. *African Christianity: An African Story*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007.

This is a most excellent companion to general histories written about the expansion of Christianity in Africa. The first chapter alone about African church historiography is worth the price of the book. This collection of essays by leading African scholars from a wide variety of traditions goes a long way in re-writing African church history from the perspective of the African. But it does not replace or demean the foreigner, as some African scholars are want to do, but recognizes the value they brought.

Ogbu states in his introduction, "Attention should therefore, turn from the mode of *transmission* towards the mode of *assimilation* or *appropriation*." (p. 7) Ogbu also calls for a transitioning from a fact-based, purely intellectual approach to church history to one of understanding the flow of the gospel into its historical-religious-cultural milieu. "The key questions in African church history are why and how Africans abandoned the gods of their fathers for Christianity?" (p. 17) In this respect, he like Frykenberg in the Indian context, begins with the necessity of taking into account first primal religion. As the title implies, and in accordance with African culture, the recounting of African church history is the telling of a story. One weakness in this work: even though Ogbu affirms that it is important to know the background of the story-teller (author) of an historical work, this volume provides us with no identification of the authors of the various essays other than their name. This was probably intentional, but leaves the reader unaware of what biases might be entailed in the writing.

Mullins, J.D. *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*. 2nd ed. London: Church Missionary Society, 1908.

Mullins records the story of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Uganda Mission. In only twenty-seven years Uganda went from a people without the gospel or a written language to a land with thirty thousand Christians under Christian chiefs, a language reduced to writing, a whole Bible in the mother tongue and a partially self-supporting church that sends its own missionaries. This easy-to-read story of a people movement to Christ, enhanced by photos and maps, concludes with appendices of a bibliography, a detailed chronology, a roll-call of missionaries and church/mission

statistics from 1887 to 1906. This book is significant for the documentation of an African people movement to Christ.

Oliver, Roland. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. 2nd ed. London: Longmans, 1965.

Written by a British professor of African history, this work begins with Livingston's journeys and records the mission history in East Africa up until the Second World War. The author covers the major missions in East Africa, but laments that records are not available (but he believes can be found in Africa itself) to record the history more of the *churches*, than of the *missions*. But for a quick easy-read of the story of the missions, from a Western viewpoint, this small work provides a resource.

Sundkler, Bengt, and Christopher Steed. *A History of the Church in Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

This lengthy volume is a long-awaited magisterial work by a highly-esteemed Lutheran missionary Bishop to Africa, professor and researcher of African Christian churches, Bengt Sundkler. He attempts what has not been produced previously on a continent-wide basis: a recounting of the *African's* role in the establishment and spread of Christianity in Africa. He draws from local and regional sources, as well as depositories of journals and records in the libraries of all the primary mission societies and the Vatican. His bibliography alone is voluminous. Sundkler does not go into depth in the stories and histories of the mission societies, except as they intersect with the African story of migrations, political and social upheavals, and African response to both the message of the Gospel and the presence of the outside world. This is a complementary companion to most all other historical studies of African Christianity which are typically

written from the Western viewpoint and are generally absent the primary player, the African.

Sundkler concludes from the research that the broad response in the twentieth century to the gospel message is far more due to the African initiative—as evangelists, catechists, and even as ordinary believing Africans in their migrations as freed slaves, refugees, traders, soldiers and uprooted communities—than is due to the missionary presence, albeit the missionary presence was of certainly critical. He also asserts that the restless youth of Africa rebelling against the traditions of the elders was a prime factor in the easier acceptance of a new religion.

The authors cover every region of Africa, per primary nation, region or ethnic group in five eras. The endnotes and bibliography are extensive, and there is a very helpful name and subject index. A reader interested in a particular people or area or nation-state could easily find further reference material via organization of the endnotes.

Yoh, John Gay, comp. *Christianity in Ethiopia and Eritrea: An Annotated Bibliography*. Amman, Jordan: Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, 1998.

Yoh provides the researcher with a number of annotated bibliographies on various regions of Africa. This is a comprehensive list of primary and secondary source material on Christianity in the area represented by present-day Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti. It includes published and unpublished works in European languages on mission to these areas and the churches of these areas.

———, comp. *Christianity in Kenya: An Annotated Bibliography*. Rev. ed. Amman, Jordan: Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, 2002.

This is a comprehensive list of primary and secondary source material on Christianity in present-day Kenya. It includes published and unpublished works in various languages on mission to and the church in Kenya, as well as an overview of mission to the area.

———, comp. *Christianity in The Sudan: An Annotated Bibliography*. Rev. ed. Amman, Jordan: Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, 1999.

This is a comprehensive list of primary and secondary source material on Christianity in present-day Sudan. It includes published and unpublished works in various languages on mission to and the church in Sudan, as well as an overview of mission to the area.

———, comp. *Christianity in Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi: An Annotated Bibliography*. Rev. ed. Amman, Jordan: Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, 2000.

This is a comprehensive list of primary and secondary source material on Christianity in the area represented by present-day Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. It includes published and unpublished works in various languages on mission to these areas and the churches of these areas, as well as an overview of mission to the area.

Latin America

Dussel, Enrique, ed. *The Church in Latin America: 1492-1992*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992.

The Commission for the Study of Church History in Latin America (CEHILA) commissioned numerous scholars across Latin America to produce this work. The

declared purpose was to prepare a history based not on the perspective of the initial carriers of the gospel—the foreign missionaries and clergy—but from the recipients and their experience of the institutional church. The gospel as “good news to the poor” was the key interpretive concept underlying the contributions to the volume. Stemming from his conviction that Jesus’ specific purpose was to bring good news to the poor, Dussel declares in his Introduction, “We need to try to write, above all, the history of the church *from* the poor, *for* the poor and – the ideal to which we are still aspiring—*by* the poor themselves.” This underlying theme is seen through the various contributors.

Like Ogbu’s African church history, this volume provides us with no identification of the authors of the various essays other than their name, leaving the reader unaware of what biases might be entailed in the writing. The work seems to be heavily Roman Catholic in its orientation. The enormous Protestant and especially Pentecostal growth of the past century appears as almost a footnote in the articles, if it appears at all. One chapter is devoted to Protestantism, but it appears to be more an apology of what was deficient in Catholicism that attracted the masses to Protestant and Pentecostal faith rather than an affirmation of the positives within those branches of the faith. This work does present a history of the Latin American church, but it is primarily valuable for an understanding of the thought of large sections of the Latin American church and the historical experience of the whole of the Latin American church.

Gonzalez, Ondina E., and Justo L. Gonzalez. *Christianity in Latin America: A History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

These two historians have produced a solid, readable and up-to-date contribution to the genre of Latin American Christian histories. The advantage of this history is that it

does not simply recount the events in the Christianization of Latin America, but provides the background of religious, political, philosophical and economic events in Latin America, Europe and North America that shaped the individuals who brought the Christian faith, the faith itself, and the receiving cultures in Latin America. Included also is the impact African slaves had on the development of the faith. As a result, the reader is brought into greater understanding of the how and why of contemporary Latin American Christianity. Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal and Indigenous Movements are studied, although less detail is provided in the latter two categories due to the widespread and more recent growth. The authors are Protestant, yet portray the other traditions fairly and objectively.

Goodpasture, H. McKennie, ed. *Cross and Sword: An Eyewitness History of Christianity in Latin America*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989.

This excellent work is a wonderful way to get a sense of the passions and motives and experiences of the actors in the drama of the colonization and evangelization of Latin America: the missionaries, the converts, the church and the governmental powers. Goodpasture uses only primary sources, selecting excerpts from letters and journals of those who lived during each era of church history of Latin America, from the letter of Columbus to Queen Isabella down to Protestants and Catholics in the new situation of Latin America during the tumultuous 1960s through the mid-1980s.

Lippy, Charles H., Robert Choquette, and Stafford Poole. *Christianity Comes to the Americas: 1492-1776*. New York: Paragon House, 1992.

This book covers all of the Americas, North and South, focusing on the missions and political ventures of Spain, France and Britain. Portuguese Brazil is addressed

briefly. It recounts the actual mission ventures far more than Dussel's compiled history. The tone and outlook is strikingly different from the Latin American authors in Dussel's edited work. Lippy, who wrote the section on Latin America, is far more defensive of the missionaries and even the benefits colonialism brought the indigenous people. He acknowledges the abuses, but soft-pedals them. The difference between an outsider and an insider writing their own history, especially when it is a history of oppression, is obvious in the comparison of these two works.

Mecham, J. Lloyd. *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations*. Rev. ed. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966.

This book is admittedly not a church or mission history, but an attempt to foster understanding of contemporary Church-State relations through an acquaintance with the past. Mecham describes the history of the interplay, integration and eventual disintegration of forces of the Roman Catholic Church, the papacy, Spain, Portugal and eventually the independent Latin American nations. Because the history of Christianity in Latin America is so enmeshed in ecclesiastical-political relations, this book is a good resource. The years following its 1966 publication has brought significant change in all of Latin America, not to speak of the change Vatican II brought to Catholicism. So while the work adds great historical insight, it is also outdated. Even the language of the author in describing the intellectual capacity of indigenous Indians reveals an outdated colonialist mindset.

The first chapter goes to great lengths to explain the nature of the patronage system in medieval Roman Catholicism, especially as it was instituted in Spain, which is

really necessary to understand the why of Latin American church and state structures and the violent reaction to it by the newly independent countries in the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Church-State changing relations through the volatile years of developing independent governments are examined country by country. The author's concluding chapter reveals his take on the motives behind Church-State conflicts.

Read, William R., Victor M. Monterroso, and Harmon A. Johnson. *Latin American Church Growth*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1969.

These authors entered into a detailed statistical and analytical research study of evangelical church growth in South and Central America in the mid-twentieth century. A first of its kind, the research was conducted via bibliographic research in mission, church and government documents and by more than two thousand personal interviews, under the supervision of two renowned Fuller Seminary professors, Donald McGavran, dean of the School of World Mission and Institute of Church Growth and Alan Tippett, Professor of Missionary Anthropology. The research gives a snapshot of mid-century church growth and diversity country by country, and seeks to uncover the factors that aid and hinder church growth in the Latin American context. Very basic information is given of when each major mission entered each national field and of the rise of indigenous Pentecostal movements. However, unlike other more general histories, a fuller account is provided of the significant (in terms of Evangelical denominations) Panama Congress of 1916 and the ensuing outcomes following the Congress. This book fills in the gaps for those wanting a more detailed look at the rise of Protestant/Evangelical/Pentecostal faith in Latin America. The work contains numerous charts and graphs.

Oceania and Pacific Islands

Breward, Ian. *A History of the Churches in Australasia*. The Oxford History of the Christian Church, edited by Henry and Owen Chadwick. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.

This is a recent and well-researched documentation covering the variety and multiplicity of languages, cultures, missions and Christian churches in Australia, New Zealand, Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia, including Papua New Guinea. The author does not attempt to cover details of each area and each mission and/or church, but rather approaches the subject more generally, showing connections between and comparing and contrasting the introduction and development of the church in various localities. The major islands and the missions to them are covered chronologically. Although most sources are Western, care is taken to try to keep the Pacific Islander at the center of the story and occasional stories are told of mission or church development from the Islander's viewpoint. Numerous maps are provided throughout. The excellent bibliography by island or groups of islands provides the launching off place for further research of this multi-varied area.

Douglas, Leonora Mosende, ed. *World Christianity: Oceania*. Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1986.

Not a scholarly history, this work offers a practical overview for mission purposes of the peoples and islands of Oceania. In so doing, it includes brief histories of mission endeavors in the Islands.

Forman, Charles W. *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the 20th Century*. American Society of Missiology Series 5, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1982.

Forman writes a history of the missions to the Pacific Islands and the churches that came forth. Issues of independence, education, medicine, village life and ecumenism are also discussed. An extensive bibliography is included.

Kikawa, Daniel I. *Perpetuated in Righteousness: The Journey of the Hawaiian People from Eden (Kalana i Hauola) to the Present Time*. 4th ed. Edited by Leon Siu and Tomas Watene Rosser. Hawai'i: Aloha Ke Akua Publishing, 1994.

The ethnographic story told in this volume is an excellent example of a people prepared for the gospel by means of their cultural history. Written by a Hawaiian, this book traces the lineage of the Hawaiian people from Polynesia, and even earlier, via common stories and nomenclature. The author shows how the proto-Hawaiians originally had a belief in only one God, the Creator God and how that belief was corrupted into polytheism by a greedy powerful conqueror. The Hawaiians retained stories of creation, Babel, the flood and the separation of peoples. The fascinating story is told of how God prepared the Hawaiians for the gospel before the arrival of the first missionary. The author concludes with the positive transformation the gospel had on his people, despite the colonial heritage passed on via the missionary.

Tippett, Alan R. *People Movements in Southern Polynesia: A Study in Church Growth*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1971.

As the title implies, this is not strictly an historical study, but a study in church growth. Tippett seeks to understand and validate spontaneous people movements to Christ. He uses four examples of people movements in the Pacific Islands—in Tahiti,

New Zealand, Tonga and Samoa. Tippet, an anthropologist, is specifically concerned with the social structures and motives that led to a mass turning to Christ among these tribes. For a history of how these specific tribes and/or islands were evangelized, this work is valuable.

Whiteman, Darrell L. *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1983.

Informed from an anthropological and sociological approach, this study looks at the introduction of Christianity into the Melanesian societies and the impact on culture not only of the gospel, but of the contact with European Anglican missionaries.

Whiteman especially deals with the controversial topic of the role of missionaries in culture change, suggesting positive principals of cross-cultural communication.

Melanesian culture and society prior to European contact is studied, providing a basis for understanding the response of the Islanders to the missionaries and the faith they proclaimed. This work is not a history of how and by whom the gospel entered the islands as it is an evaluation of the ensuing results.

Reference Works

Barrett, David B. and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Trends AD 30-AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001.

This huge volume supplies gleanings from the even larger *World Christian Encyclopedia* by the same authors. They measure, track, describe and define practically anything one can imagine related to the growth and development of the global church

during the past two thousand years, with special emphasis on world evangelization. The charts, maps, statistical tables, diagrams and graphs are also available digitally.

Bonk, Jonathan. *Encyclopedia of Missions and Missionaries*. Routledge Encyclopedias of Religion and Society, edited by David Levinson. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Bonk provides a wide-ranging encyclopedia on central themes in the mission enterprise informed by a wide-range of international scholars. There are also entries on church and missions in each of the main regions and/or continents of the world.

Johnson, Todd M., and Kenneth R. Ross, eds. *Atlas of Global Christianity: 1910-2010*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Articles, maps, charts and statistics, along with interpretive articles on the global expansion and presence of Christianity from 1910 to 2010 saturates this beautiful full-color volume supplying a wealth of information.

Moreau, Scott A., ed. *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. With the assistance of Harold Netland and Charles Van Engen. Baker Reference Library Series. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000.

Containing over 1400 entries, this authoritative reference work is intended as a dictionary on world missions from an evangelical perspective. The 330 contributors reflect the breadth of evangelical ideas and positions. There was an intentional effort to include a range of biographical entries of non-Western subjects, women, and from every region of the world. Supplementing biographies, mission-related events, organizations, movements, concepts and terms are included.

Parry, Ken, ed. *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

This excellent work is a compendium of topics by various scholars. For our purposes, a chapter each is included on each of the Eastern Churches: Arab, Armenian, Bulgarian, Byzantine, Coptic, Ethiopian, Georgian, Greek, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Syriac and Eastern Christianity in the U.S., China and Eastern Catholic Christianity. Each chapter provides a history of missions to and the conversion of said people. Most are good overviews, although surprisingly the history of the initial conversion of the Russians and early Syriac Christian history is quite scanty. The chapter on Eastern Catholic Christianity clarifies and compares the numerous and varied bodies that fall under that category.

Parry, Ken, David J. Melling, Dimitri Brady, Sidney H. Griffith and John F. Healey, eds. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*. Foreword by Rt. Revd. Kallistos Ware. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

A helpful dictionary of people, places and terms associated with Eastern Christianity, both Eastern Orthodox and the Church of the East, and all the associated groups that developed out of those two traditions is found in this work. It is written from an Eastern point of view by an international team of fifty contributors. The emphasis is more on the Eastern Orthodox than the Church of the East. The introduction gives a broad overview and apologetic for knowing and understanding the churches of the East, which are so often little known or understood by those from a Western tradition.

Sunquist, Scott W., ed. *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity*. With the assistance of David Wu Chu Sing and John Chew Hiang Chea. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2001.

This reference work, the first of its kind, covers two thousand years of Christianity in Asia. It includes 1260 articles written by nearly five-hundred Asian scholars from eighteen Asian nations. Biographical entries as well as contemporary religious, cultural and political movements are included. Maps, bibliographies and cross-references round it out. This is a treasure-house of Asian jewels.

Writing History

Bebbington, David. *Patterns in History: A Christian Perspective on Historical Thought*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990.

The author, a senior lecturer in history at the University of Stirling, Scotland, describes and analyzes the primary five views of historical process throughout history: cyclical; Christian history (linear and teleological); the idea of progress; historicism; and Marxist. He examines the varied expressions of each view within different global cultures and times and the development of the views through the age's philosophers, historians, poets and theologians. He concludes with the philosophies of how history is recorded and the challenges of how to write history from a Christian perspective. The author's Afterword updates the book to deal with the school of thought of post-modernism.

Gonzalez, Justo L. *The Changing Shape of Church History*. St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2002.

Gonzalez asserts that all historians, whether they recognize it or not, interpret the past based upon their view of the future. This will influence the historian's selection of topics to be included and how the facts are presented. Gonzalez challenges historians to

write Church history not from the center of power, as did Eusebius, nor from a spiritualization of history, as did Augustine, but from the paradigm of “incarnate marginality.” Church history needs to recover how the ordinary Christian lived and what they believed rather than recording only the thought and lives of major leaders.

Noll, Mark A. *Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1997.

This book serves more as a supplement to the interpretation and understanding of Christian history. Noll subjectively, albeit with significant historical weight, selects twelve critical points in Christian history that reshaped the landscape in the expression and direction of Christianity. Glaringly, all twelve events occur within Western Christianity, although these events did impact global Christianity through the mission of the Western church. Noll is not unconcerned or ignorant of Christian expression in the rest of the world however, as he does include the surge of non-Western Christianity in the twentieth century as a decisive moment for future historians.

Shenk, Wilbert R., ed. *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002.

The premise behind this book is that the world has changed so drastically in the past two hundred years that the task of historical interpretation must change and shift with it. Traditional historical interpretation was shaped by a European culture in which Christians were the cultural and religious majority. In terms of identity and socio-political environment, church and state were almost one. Western assumptions were perceived to be valid everywhere. The surging non-Western church is pushing back against the Western approach to history that ignores pre-Christian culture, the interaction of the

recipient culture with both the message and carriers of the gospel, and writes the indigenous agent out of the story of evangelization of a people. Shenk and the ten global contributors to this book challenge Western educators and historians to re-envision the history of the global church. I heartily agree with Philip Jenkins' endorsement of this book as "essential reading for anyone interested in tracing the global development of Christianity through the centuries." (back cover)

Walls, Andrew F. *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002.

Andrew Walls' writings are rich with insight. In this work he questions traditional Christian historiography asserting the need to add the element of the interplay of the gospel with the new cultures it encounters. In such encounters both the recipient culture and the understanding of the gospel change; both are enlarged through the interaction. Walls creates case studies from Africa and the modern missionary movement to illustrate the transmission and appropriation of the faith and how such understanding must permeate the understanding of Christian history.

———. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996.

In this work, Andrew Walls expounds on his now famous "translation principle" in Christian history. He demonstrates how from the first century onward, as the gospel flowed into diverse cultures it had to be translated into the cultural worldview and understanding of the recipient culture to be understood, generation after generation. In the process, the breadth of comprehension and insight into Christ and His words grew reshaping Christian faith and practice. Now that the Christian world is predominately

non-Western, it is vital that we think outside of traditional Western categories and assumptions about the church, scripture, education and the mission of the church, and in the process re-evaluate the past in light of that understanding.

Other Helpful Works

Johnstone, Patrick. *The Future of the Global Church: History, Trends and Possibilities*. Colorado Springs, CO: Biblica, 2011.

This magnificent book commends itself in many ways, but for our purposes it contains an excellent section on the past two thousand years of Christian history, century by century. A map of the geo-political world and dominant religions of each century is on one page, with a map of the extent of Christian witness on the facing page. A catalog of significant dates pertaining to each sphere (general history and Christian history) is given. Key statistics and a page of persecution of Christians for each century are also provided. The full-color maps and charts and PowerPoint presentations able to be downloaded from the accompanying website make this a truly valuable resource.

CHAPTER 4

PROJECT: ADAPTING THE HISTORICAL SECTION FOR NON-AMERICAN CONTEXTS—A GUIDE FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPERS

The content of this chapter is the heart of this thesis-project: a document to guide and assist international developers of the Perspectives course in adapting the History Section of the North American edition of Perspectives into their particular global context. This document, entitled *Adapting the Historical Section for Non-American Contexts*, was distributed to all current and prospective developers in December 2011 at the biennial meeting of Perspectives program developers in Seoul, South Korea.

The document that was distributed contained an introduction, table of contents, five chapters, a suggested reading list and works cited sections. Reproduced in this chapter are the introduction and five chapters. The suggested reading list is omitted as it is a shortened list of works culled from the list of suggested literary resources in the previous chapter of this thesis. The citations have been folded into the total bibliography at the end of this thesis-project.

This chapter from this point forward is the text of the document, *Adapting the Historical Section for Non-American Contexts*, addressed to global developers of the Perspectives Study Program.

Introduction

As a Perspectives program developer you are beginning an endeavor to develop an effective mission mobilization tool for your community. That endeavor, much like embarking upon a journey, requires thoughtful planning, teamwork, preparation and

endurance. Whether you are an experienced program developer or brand new at it, this document is intended to aid you in your journey.

This document is applicable to those who are adapting a Standard Perspectives curriculum as well as to those developing Specialized curricula based upon the Perspectives course. The assumption is made that you are well acquainted with the content of the Perspectives textbooks: *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, by Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne, and *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement Study Guide*, by Steven C. Hawthorne. The assumption is also made that you are familiar with the “Sixteen Core Ideas” which are the foundational biblical and missiological concepts in the Perspectives course.

Many of you have the *Perspectives Developer Manual*, by Steve Hawthorne, and are familiar with “Ten-Point Development Process” referenced in this document. This manual was written in 2003 with an expectation that each of the international Perspectives courses would originate fully contextualized for the language and culture. Experience and feedback from global developers in the ensuing years has modified initial strategies so that most courses begin with a translation of the U.S. course with minor adjustments or substitutions. As the course matures and national leaders fully assimilate the content and core ideas, greater contextualization is expected. The Historical Section is the first and most critical section of Perspectives that needs adapting to the culture and region. Certainly many of the articles in the American edition can be carried over into other global contexts, but others will need adjustments or replacement, as well as adding your own regional history. Yet, the end result needs to be fully integrated. This document is intended to aid you in that process.

This document can also provide guidance and understanding to instructors and facilitators who will teach the Historical Section of the course. As they understand the underlying framework and the intended outcomes of the History Section, they will be more successful in teaching the content.

Envisioning the Journey: An Introduction to the Historical Section

For over thirty-five years the *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* course has been transforming lives and hearts, and as a result, mobilizing local churches for mission and planting churches among unreached people groups. Over one hundred thousand have taken the course in North America, with several more thousand in other countries. There is much to celebrate, yet the most effective days lay ahead. Perspectives is on the threshold of its greatest fruition if it can be brought into the context of the non-Western church where the world Christian movement is exploding. In order to reach its fullest potential within those cultures, the Perspectives curriculum will need to be not simply translated, but *transcultured*.

The approach you take to the Historical Section of the Perspectives course is very important for two reasons. First, it must be rooted in the biblical view of history. The peoples of the earth recount many histories. Yet we believe there is one great Story that encompasses and fulfills them all. The Perspectives student is introduced that Story in the Biblical Section of Perspectives. The Historical Section of Perspectives is a continuation of The Story—"The Story of His Glory, Part Two," if you will. In fact, the thrust of the entire course is essentially a matter of history. The Perspectives course seeks to express

God's call to our generation to join Him in the fulfillment of His purposes in His great and ancient Story.

Second, the Historical Section must be uniquely shaped in order to be relevant to diverse audiences. The Historical Section requires the greatest adaptation of any of the sections of the Perspectives course because God's grand Story must be seen by students as intersecting their personal story. Students' sense of history embraces their own national, ethnic and family history, as well as their personal life stories. The challenge in adapting the course is in not only *condensing* The Story to fit your educational design, but it is also in *connecting* The Story to the student. How does God's Story precede and fulfill the student's own story? How can The Story of the unfolding of God's purpose throughout history be told in such a way that the student grasps what God has been doing through the ages, recognizes that he (or she) is *in* The Story and lays hold of the promise of a destiny that is bigger than his personal life achievement? How do you condense two thousand years of the expansion of the Christian movement and keep it complete, concise, interesting, and motivating? Your task is to condense history in such a way that it is easily followed yet connects powerfully to the student. In doing so it is helpful to keep the *vision* and *goal* in mind.

According to the *Perspectives Developer Manual*, the *goal* of the Perspectives course is "to bring about profound changes of outlook and discipleship in the students who work through it...to bring about a major paradigm shift."¹ The history section well-written and taught in the Perspectives course will not just be an impartation of knowledge

¹ Steven C. Hawthorne, *Perspectives Developer Manual* (Pasadena, CA: Institute of International Studies, 2003), 30.

or a presentation of randomly selected historical events and personages, but will be a continuation of the life-changing paradigm shift for which the Perspectives course is renowned. The *vision* of the Perspectives course is encapsulated within the sixteen Core Ideas which provide the theological and philosophical framework for the curriculum. Communicating the Historical Section as a continuation of “The Story” told in the Biblical Section is essential in accomplishing the goal and vision of the Perspectives course. Co-editor of the Perspectives curriculum, Steve Hawthorne, explains,

Linking that biblical story with the history of the advance of the Christian movement, with the strategic imperative of finishing world evangelization, has made the essential vision of the Perspectives course a matter of God fulfilling His global purpose. The course is not a matter of presenting facts with challenge about the desperate need. It has always been a course about the sure hope of God’s purposes being fulfilled.²

In the Biblical Section, Perspectives students catch the breathtaking revelation of God’s purpose being worked out throughout history from Genesis to Revelation. They understand the Bible in a whole new way as they see it unfold around God’s purpose. The same awe-inspiring revelation should occur in the Historical Section, as they see God at work accomplishing His purpose through the events of history, from the book of Acts to the present day. In a well-designed course, history comes alive for students, pulsating with mystery, adventure and daring as they study ordinary men and women who wrapped their lives around the purposes of God. Hope and joy arise in the hearts of students as they see the grand sweep of history through the eyes of God’s purpose and the progress that has been made since the first century. Insight develops with a desire to understand

² Steven C. Hawthorne, "Global Perspectives: A Meeting of Leaders in Amsterdam," *Perspectives Family Bulletin*, no. 1 (April 2003): 2.

what remains to be done in the fulfillment of God's purpose. A sense of destiny and individual worth bursts forth as they set their hearts to passionately pursue God's purpose in their own generation. But above all, God is glorified in the eyes of students. He becomes grander and more amazing in their vision, their faith rises, their love overflows and they worship.

Getting Started: A Helpful Checklist for Planning Your Journey of Curriculum Development

There will most likely be many more steps that you will add to this checklist, but this will help you to get started.

1. **Recruit a task force.** Enlist colleagues to work with you and identify a leader. This would be a reading and editorial review group. Choose people with skill in evaluating historical and missiological articles and who grasp the vision and goals of the Perspectives course. The temptation will be to ask highly academic individuals, but they may not be your best option. Those who have worked through the course at the certificate level or served as graders are prime candidates. There are gifted people around you so spend some time looking for the right people rather than whomever happens to be available.
2. **Assemble a basic reading list.** Be sure to include all of the History Section in the fourth edition (2009) of the *Perspectives Reader and Study Guide*. Attached is a suggested reading list to help you become acquainted with global and regional history of the expansion of Christianity.

3. **Survey local and regional historical records.** What has been written in your area regarding the expansion of the Christian movement in your land? How did the gospel come to your people and how is it going forth from your people? Examine viewpoints that are negative or hostile to Christianity, as well as favorable ones.
4. **Find resource people.** Discover who in your area is historically informed. Remember that you are not looking for church history or even mission history, but expansion history. Approach those individuals to discover if they have written or spoken anywhere about the subject.
5. **Explore themes.** Discuss as a team various potential thematic emphases (see discussion on themes and models in chapter four below). The Story can be developed through a number of different themes.
6. **Write an integrated outline.** Develop the storyline first in a coherent form and then embellish it throughout with your chosen themes. Be sure to link it to the biblical story and also to present-day facts so that the historical story connects with the student. Select events and themes that support the Core Ideas. As the History Section is not a stand-alone document, make sure it correlates with the rest of the course. A Standard Curriculum includes readings from the Study Guide. In developing an integrated outline, you are beginning to actually adapt the Study Guide for this Section. Lesson eight is the primary place in the Standard curriculum for adding local history articles.

7. **Evaluate everything by the desired outcome.** Evaluate the historical material you survey and the themes you choose in light of the stated goals of the Perspectives program. How much reading will need to be required in order to achieve the desired outcome?
8. **Identify articles to be included.** Choose existing articles or those you will solicit to be written according to the desired outcome.
9. **Commission new works.** Decide what history you need to commission to be written and who you should approach to do it. Look for authors from your region or language. Consider the authority needed in the authors and aim for overall diversity of authors. Historically the Perspectives course has used a variety of respected church and mission leaders. As course developer Steve Hawthorne has noted, “There is enormous strength in a course that has many voices and yet the same message.”³
10. **Supply sample articles.** Provide potential authors with samples along the lines of what you desire them to write. Of course, you will want to avoid plagiarism, but you could ask them to write something in like vein. Your authors will need to be careful regarding the length of the article.
11. **Secure permissions.** Permission is required for both translating and adapting existing articles to your needs. You will need to be aggressive and creative in approaching authors of existing articles to ask permission to alter their work.

³ Hawthorne, *Developer Manual*, 30.

12. **Locate suitable maps.** If the maps you need are not available, commission maps to be drawn to illustrate the material.
13. **Draft the Historical Section and submit it to the Perspectives Global Service Office and others for critique.** Discuss the critiques as a task force team.
14. **Make needed changes.** If possible, test market the section before publishing. Other needed changes may come to the surface once the material is used in your educational setting.

Charting the Course: Historical Framework of the Course

Foundational within the Perspectives vision and essential to accomplishing the goal of a life-shaping paradigm shift is Core Idea number one: “God initiates and advances work in history to accomplish His purpose.” This is what history is all about! It is the outworking and fulfillment of God’s purpose. God is the initiator and overseer of history. This is the biblical view of history.

There are, however, alternate views of history that are in conflict with the biblical view. Many of our students may either consciously or unconsciously hold an alternative approach to history due to their education or just because of the pervasive influence of the cultures in which we live. They may even try to hold a biblical view and a competing view in tandem. This is where the History Section of the Perspectives course can sweep powerfully over our students, reshaping their worldview and transforming their life purpose.

It will be helpful for you to be aware of alternative views of history. What follows is a very simplified description.

Cyclical, Deterministic View

This is the view of history of most primal and Asian religions. It sees all of history as a series of endless repeating cycles which has no ultimate purpose or goal. This view of history, held from antiquity yet still quite common, takes its cue from the repeating life-cycles of nature. It usually sees the fate of humans as determined by blind forces. In terms of a grand story, missiologist Lesslie Newbigin remarks,

The great religions of Asia have not been interested in the construction of a universal history. All the religions that have their origin in the Indian subcontinent have seen the human story in terms of recurring cycles. . . . The story can never come to a point. There is no point in a circle, and so there is no story to tell. There are only stories.⁴

Biblical, Hebraic View

The biblical view emerges out of Judaism and early Christianity, often described as the Judeo-Christian or Hebraic worldview. Time is linear in the biblical worldview. History has both eschatological and teleological dimensions: God initiated history in creation and is working through history to bring it to a culmination according to His purpose. God is not some cosmic spectator; He initiates and intervenes in the affairs of man according to His purpose. The biblical view, however, is not a deterministic view, but a contingent one. There is a mystery in the relationship between God's sovereignty over the affairs of man and man's free will. History is moving forward toward the

⁴ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret: An Introduction to the Theology of Mission*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1995), 86.

completion of God's purpose. God's purposes will be accomplished *within* history on earth, prior to the conclusion of history. Thus, it is a unified view of history. Man is God's creation and is accountable to Him as the ultimate Judge. The meaning of life and the purpose of man is found within the purpose of God.

Modern Scientific, Enlightenment View

Building on the Hebraic linear view of history, the Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth century in Europe also saw history moving forward, yet replaced God with man in bringing it to its zenith. In their view, "enlightened" intellectuals would lead the world toward progress through technology and science out of the irrational, superstitious Dark Ages of "uncivilized" man. This view of progress undergirded the colonial project of global European domination. Teleology, or purpose, disappeared from the telling of history; the world moved forward by cause and effect, not according to any Divine purpose or intervention. Regarding the modern scientific view of history, Newbigin writes, "History was seen as the story of the progressive development of human knowledge and skill and the progressive achievement of human mastery over nature and emancipation from bondage to ancient tradition and custom."⁵ A notable variation of this view is Marxism. Marxism also holds to a linear view of progress, but posits it in terms of class struggle or revolution. Man's destiny is only in the man-made utopia to be created, whether he lives to see it or not.

⁵ Newbigin, *The Open Secret*, 86.

Post-Modern, Deconstructionist View

Since two global world wars and the tragic events of the twentieth century, the Enlightenment view of progress and the Marxist view of utopia have been exposed as bankrupt. A postmodern view arose as a reaction to modernism established in the Enlightenment. This view of history is fragmented, chaotic, completely devoid of purpose and meaning. One of the original voices of postmodernism is Jean-Francois Lyotard, who adopted a philosophy of paganism that developed into a philosophy of postmodernism. The postmodern worldview has infected societies across the world, especially the younger generation. In his ground-breaking work, *The Postmodern Condition*, Lyotard sets the meaning of postmodern stating, "I define postmodern as incredulity toward metanarratives."⁶ Metanarratives are understood as totalizing stories about history and the goals of humanity. In other words, in a postmodern worldview there is no grand metanarrative that is true, that makes sense out of the events of history and that can be appealed to as a universal basis for judgment. In commenting on postmodernism, Newbigin states, "Its main feature is the abandonment of any claim to know the truth in an absolute sense. Ultimate reality is not single but diverse and chaotic. Truth-claims are

⁶ Jean-Francois Lyotard, *Theory and History of Literature*, translation from the French by Geoff Bennington and Brian Masumi, vol. 10, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, (Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press, 1984), xxiv. Originally published in France as *La Condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* in 1979 by Les Editions de Minuit.

really concealed claims to power, and this applies as much to the claims of science as to those of religion.”⁷

Contrasting with modern historical theories, the Perspectives course boldly asserts that history does have a grand metanarrative. Some of the main features of the historical framework for Perspectives are as follows.

A Grand Metanarrative

The Perspectives course is solidly established on a biblical or Hebraic view of history. A large part of the grand metanarrative as revealed in scripture is encapsulated in Steve Hawthorne’s article in the *Perspectives Reader* entitled “The Story of His Glory.” It is the story of God revealing Himself to all nations, redeeming and blessing them, and receiving glory back from all nations. It is the story of God re-establishing His Kingdom rule over the peoples of the earth. It is the story of love and worship rising back to God from all peoples. As the *Perspectives Study Guide* summarizes, “For His glory in global worship, God purposes to overcome evil by redeeming a people who will love and obey Him within every people.”⁸

The mission of God is always greater than the mission He gives to His people. *Missio Dei* does not equal the mission of the church. God is the author of mission; the

⁷ Lesslie Newbigin, "Certain Faith: What Kind of Certainty?", *Tyndale Bulletin*, no. 44 (1993); quoted in Paul Weston, *Lesslie Newbigin: A Postmodern Missiologist?*, last modified February 10, 2011, accessed December 16, 2011, <http://www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk/pages/hmc-seminar-papers/archive-seminar-papers.php>.

⁸ Steven C. Hawthorne, *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement Study Guide*, 4th ed. (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 4.

mission of the church is only part of God's mission. David Bosch summarizes this paradigm-shifting understanding of mission:

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the *missio Dei* notion has helped to articulate the conviction that neither the church nor any other human agent can ever be considered the author or bearer of mission. Mission is, primarily and ultimately, the work of the Triune God, Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, for the sake of the world, a ministry in which the church is privileged to participate. . . . The recognition that mission is God's mission represents a crucial breakthrough in respect of the preceding centuries. It is inconceivable that we could again revert to a narrow, ecclesiocentric view of mission.⁹

Not only does history have divine purpose, but people find their dignity, meaning and worth within God's purpose. Through salvation man finds dignity and value as a child of God. Beyond salvation, ultimate meaning and significance is found not in man's mighty exploits, but in participating in the only enterprise that is all together historic, eternal, global and personal. Perspectives Core Ideas number two and number sixteen capture this truth: "God calls His people to join Him in fulfilling His purpose" and "By participating in the world Christian movement, every believer can find a way to live with vital, strategic significance in God's global purpose."

God Pursues Culmination

Perspectives Core Idea number six states, "God's work in history has continuity and will come to an ultimate culmination." The biblical view of history is eschatological. The events of history are moving toward a God-intended culmination, in which God is known and loved by all peoples and the blessing abounds among all peoples. That does not mean that there will not be setbacks along the way. The picture the Apostle John

⁹ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 392-393.

gives us in Revelation 7:9 reflects what will have already transpired *within* history. Those standing before the throne from every “nation, tribe, people and tongue” worshipping the Lamb will have already worshipped Him within their historical setting. Though that may not be measurable, it is observable. The recounting of history in the Perspectives course, therefore, needs to clearly show God actively pursuing His purpose of the evangelization of all peoples. In identifying the crux of the Historical Section, Steve Hawthorne wrote, “The most important idea of the Historical Section is continuity, progress and momentum to the present hour.”¹⁰

“God’s finish is so certain that you can aim missiologically at it.”¹¹ A study of the history of mission efforts reveals what has been done in evangelizing all the peoples of the earth. Bringing history up to the present hour enables the student to see what remains to be done to complete the task of world evangelization.

Occurs Within General History

The history of the expansion of the world Christian movement transpires within general human history. That means that individuals, events, catastrophes, migrations, governments, religions and ideologies within the history of man all intersected with and impacted the spread and reception of the gospel message. Lesslie Newbigin declares it well, “The biblical story is not a separate story: it is part of the unbroken fabric of world

¹⁰ Steven C. Hawthorne, “Different Pathways through Perspectives,” *Perspectives Family Bulletin*, no. 2 (August 2003), 5.

¹¹ Attributed to Steve Hawthorne, from a telephone conversation with the author, July 2004.

history. The Christian faith is that this is the place in the whole fabric where its pattern has been disclosed, even though the weaving is not yet finished.”¹²

Mission history cannot be studied within a vacuum. Historic events, governments, ideologies and religions aided or restricted or suppressed the flow of the gospel from one area to another. The carriers of the faith lived within a particular culture and an era of time and were shaped by it. That impacted the means and motive of their missionary endeavors, and indeed of their understanding of the message itself. The recipients of the gospel message were also shaped by their culture and the events of their day, which in turn shaped their understanding and reception of the gospel. Indeed the gospel message itself was shaped by current events and culture, producing a wide variety of theologies and mission methodologies over the centuries and across the globe. The importance of context is emphasized by Indian scholar Mathias Mundadan:

The history of Christianity is the history of the encounter of the gospel message of Jesus with different peoples and their ever-newer religious-cultural and sociopolitical contexts. It is the history of the impregnation of these contexts by the gospel, the assimilation of the cultures of the peoples by the gospel and that of the gospel by their cultures, and the history of the consequent changes in the Christian movement and of the cultures of the people.¹³

An understanding of the general history of an era aids in the comprehension of the fulfillment of God’s purpose within that era. God has always worked in and through the events of history to accomplish His purpose. Some have referred to it as the hand of God in the glove of history. In recounting The Story, include the major factors in general

¹² Newbigin, *The Open Secret*, 88.

¹³ A. Mathias Mundadan, “The Changing Task of Christian History,” in *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 23.

history that affected the spread and reception of the Christian faith. That will help students not only grasp how God acts in history, but understand human response as well.

“Glocal” in Scope

Lately a new term was coined—glocal—to describe an emphasis on both global and local issues at the same time. As the Perspectives curriculum is adapted for ethnolinguistic groups around the world, designing the History Section to be “glocal” is the desired approach. Because we are all by nature ethnocentric, we are naturally more interested in our own history and what our own people have accomplished. The more isolated our people are from those of other ethnicities, the more this is true. Herein lurks an inherent danger in the development of the History Section. The Perspectives course would be hugely distorted if it focused primarily on how the gospel came to “me and my people.” The intent is on how God’s purpose is being established throughout the earth among *all* peoples. In his introduction to *A History of Christianity*, Kenneth Scott Latourette declared,

From its very beginning, the course of Christianity must be viewed against the background of the entire human race. The necessity of this perspective should be obvious, yet often it has been ignored. Since Christians have claimed that Christ is essential to a comprehension of the meaning of history, since the outlook of Christianity is universal in its scope, and since from the outset the ideal has been set before the followers of Jesus of winning all men to his discipleship, the historian must ask how far that understanding and that dream have been realized. His canvass, therefore, must be all mankind from the beginning to the present. In every major stage of his narrative, he who would survey the history of Christianity must strive to view it in its global setting.¹⁴

¹⁴ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, vol. 1, *To AD 1500* (San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1975), xv-xvi.

Likewise, the Perspectives History Section would be hugely incomplete if it did *not* include the story of the gospel coming to fruition within your people. God's grand Story includes "you and your people." Within The Story there is a blessing for you and your people, the blessing God promised Abraham. Your people share the heritage of the Abrahamic family and the destiny of partnership with God in the conclusion of The Story. Your chapter of The Story traces not only how the gospel came to you, but how it flowed from you to other peoples; your people's contribution to the furtherance of The Story.

The Story is continuous and interconnected. It cannot be isolated and localized. What happened in one part of The Story in one place and in one time affected how and when the gospel flowed into another area among another people.

There are millions of stories within The Story. Each developer will have to determine which stories he or she will use, but the outline of The Story covering the globe and progressing to more and more people groups should be there. And stories from other times and cultures need to be included. An African believer needs to hear how the gospel came and is still coming to the Chinese, for example. A Latino brother needs to hear something of gospel penetration into India. Europeans and North Americans need to hear the origins of the tremendous growth of Christianity in Africa. Gerald Pillay, theologian and historian from New Zealand summarizes,

In the classroom, it is not possible to teach everything or adequately teach the history of world Christianity except in outline. . . . After all, most of our students will in the main end up living in the same part of the world for all their lives. What is crucial is that while immersed in their contexts they are able to place their lives and their thoughts in global perspectives; that they grasp the catholic

dimension of their contextual witness and thus are able to enrich the Christian tradition.¹⁵

We need each other's stories, both in time (history) and space (geography) so that we will understand how we are part of the larger family of God and the awesome way God is fulfilling His purpose among all the peoples of the earth. We need to see how God has been and is still at work in other cultures. We need to have our horizons expanded, and who knows? God just may call some of our students to one of those other cultures.

Choosing the Route: Potential Motifs in Telling the Story with Models of How Others Have Told It

The crux of the Historical Section is telling the story of God's purpose being fulfilled through the global expansion of the Christian movement. However, that Story can be told via various themes or motifs. The Story is the melody; the themes are like harmonies underlying the melody, supporting the melody and rendering it more beautiful. The use of thematic patterns also helps your Story to be more memorable. As in music, use of more than one harmonious theme is possible. Following are possible themes that can be utilized in telling the Story, with examples of those themes in the writings of others. Many themes are possible; you and your team may come up with completely different ones. The main idea is to keep the storyline coherent, while embroidering it with appropriate themes.

¹⁵ Gerald J. Pillay, "The Challenge of Teaching Church History from a Global Perspective," in *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 92-93.

Geographic Expansion

The growth of the Christian movement over time can be traced geographically across the globe. This is the approach eminent historian Kenneth Scott Latourette has taken in his *History of Christianity*. Latourette developed his theme of geographic expansion in terms of advance and recession in the spread of the Christian faith.¹⁶ For example, the original heartland of Christianity, the Middle East and North Africa, fell to Islam in the seventh century, while Christianity was simultaneously advancing in northern Europe and parts of Asia. Today, after hundreds of years of stagnation, Christianity is slowly advancing once more in the Middle East and North Africa while receding in Europe. Moreover, the growth in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Latin America in the past one hundred years has been staggering. In spite of the times of recession, on the whole Christianity has had incredible geographic expansion, touching almost every place on earth since its inception.

Geographic expansion is also the theme Stephen Neill tediously takes in his classic, *A History of Christian Missions*.¹⁷ Neill's larger organization is around blocks of time representing major periods in general history (the Roman world, the Dark Ages, European expansion, etc.), introducing the period with a description of what is transpiring in general history which influences the spread of the gospel. Within those blocks of time (albeit, Western-based categories), Neill surveys how the gospel is entering country after country, West, East, North and South, covering every area on the globe. The

¹⁶ Latourette, *History of Christianity*, xxi.

¹⁷ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1990).

disadvantage of Neill's work is that it is a survey; there is no sense of a grand Story for God.

A theme of geographic expansion that embodies "The Story" is clearly seen in Ralph Winter's article, "The Kingdom Strikes Back: Ten Epochs of Redemptive History" in the *Perspectives Reader*.¹⁸ Winter divides history into four-hundred year epochs, showing the geographical expansion of the gospel during each epoch and tracing how it flowed from one area into another. His structure provides a sense of continuity and momentum in the fulfillment of God's purpose in history. As does Winter's article on modern missions, "Four Men, Three Eras, Two Transitions: Modern Missions" found in the third edition of the *Perspectives Reader*.¹⁹ The nature of the Three Eras that Winter defines traces the flow of the gospel geographically in the first two eras and by people groups in the final era.

Gospel Advance Among People Groups

Perspectives is a course on the advance of the world Christian movement, not church history. A common error many Perspectives lecturers have made in the past is teaching church history, because that is a more conventional course of study in Bible colleges and seminaries. In Perspectives, the emphasis is additionally upon *frontier* missions—where the gospel has yet to advance. Throughout history and into today there

¹⁸ Ralph D. Winter, "The Kingdom Strikes Back: Ten Epochs of Redemptive History," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009).

¹⁹ Ralph D. Winter, "Four Men, Three Eras, Two Transitions: Modern Missions," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 3rd ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1999).

have been many wonderful mission works accomplished among peoples where the church has been established. Perspectives seeks to focus upon mission efforts towards people groups who have yet to receive a gospel witness and where the church has not been firmly established. The teaching of the Historical Section should also reflect this emphasis. The idea is to show how the gospel comes to and penetrates new cultures, not the ongoing work of the church or missionaries once the church has been established. Frontier mission is what the Perspectives material refers to as “the missionary task.” Perspectives Core Idea #8 states, “The mission task can and will be completed.” By focusing on frontier mission efforts, the Historical Section tracks how this mission task is being completed globally people group by people group. It leads naturally to the question, “Where are we today? Which people groups are still lacking a gospel witness?”

Ralph Winter in his article, “The Kingdom Strikes Back: Ten Epochs of Redemptive History” in the *Perspectives Reader*, takes not only the geographical approach, but also takes the people group approach. He illustrates how the gospel successfully entered major cultural basins. One of his sub-themes is what those cultural basins did with the gospel once they received it; i.e., whether they hoarded or shared the blessing with the neighboring peoples. Winter also makes use of repeating patterns that aid in comprehension and retention.

Accomplished Through Church Planting Movements

Every individual witness to the gospel of Jesus Christ and every individual conversion are significant and contribute to the fulfillment of God’s purpose and glory among the nations. However, most of the world does not operate according to the

individualistic principles of the West. The concept of radical individualism rose with Enlightenment of the eighteenth century in Europe. For the vast majority of peoples throughout history, any decision, including a change of religious allegiance was made in community. Though it is clear from history that many of these group conversions of entire peoples were without adequate understanding of the faith, over time the peoples were taught and disciplined, the true faith caught hold and was contextualized within the culture. Therefore, in history and in much of the world today, the expansion of the Christian movement has come through people movements to Christ.

Significant turnings of people groups to Christ could be utilized as a recurring theme. Stories of church planting movements that evangelized their own people and likewise spread the faith to other peoples are especially powerful. For example, the witness of Saint Patrick and the turning of the Irish from paganism to Christianity became the means to the evangelization of much of the European continent. Through tracking the flow this way, students are enabled to see the unity of history around God's purposes.

Kingdom Advance Produces Societal Transformation

As individuals in society are transformed, the society itself is transformed. In this manner, the kingdom of darkness is defeated and the kingdom of God advances; evil is routed and goodness and justice rise up. This is the nature of the blessing promised to the nations through Abraham's seed and stated in Perspectives Core Idea number seven, "The Christian movement has brought about positive social transformation." Throughout history, Christianity has been the direct or indirect influence on the development of hospitals, schools, compassionate ministries, charity, science, liberty, human rights and

justice, the sanctification and dignity of human life, the elevation of morals and of women, the dignity of labor and economic freedom, the abolishment of slavery, and has placed its stamp on art, architecture, music and literature. The list could go on.

Christianity has had a pervasive influence in the societies of the world and brought a positive uplift for those societies that embrace the ethics and morals of the Christian faith. The transformation, of course, is not perfect, and the church has often failed in living up to the standards that she professes, for God's Kingdom has not yet fully come on earth.

Once again, Winter's "Ten Epochs" article includes a theme of transformation, which he describes as a "flourishing" or "renaissance" at the end of each epoch.²⁰ Winter's article, though limited by its Western-approach, is a good example of integrating several themes into The Story of the expansion of the world Christian movement and the fulfillment of God's purpose. The downside is that Winter's article is somewhat triumphalistic and reflects a Christendom model. A good counterbalance would be an article that reveals the glory of God in the suffering of His people.

Andrew Walls is another model in the genre of transformational aspects of the gospel. In his excellent study, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*,²¹ he examines the Christian movement according to what he calls "the translation principle." He demonstrates how as the gospel entered new cultures, over time it changed in outward appearance and emphases to address the important issues of that time and culture, thereby being able to act as an agent of transformation within the culture.

²⁰ Winter, "The Kingdom Strikes Back," 225.

²¹ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996).

Specialized Approaches

Sometimes the history of Christian mission is treated in a specialized format. These formats highlight one or more aspects of mission but do not cover the breadth of the expansion of Christianity globally.

The *Perspectives Reader* includes an article by Pierce Beaver entitled, "The History of Mission Strategy"²² which would fall within this category. Mission strategy is a valuable element to be explored in history so that we can learn from the mistakes and successes of the past. It does not tell the grand Story, but it could be used as a theme within the telling of the story of the expansion of the Christian faith. Another such example within the *Perspectives Reader* is the article by Paul Pierson, "A History of Transformation."²³ This article deals only with the theme of transformation, yet as shown above, transformation is a theme that can be woven throughout the storyline. Ruth Tucker wrote an excellent study, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya*,²⁴ which presents mini-biographies of significant mission leaders throughout history. Again, this type of history does not reveal the grand metanarrative of God working in history to fulfill His purpose. However, including mini-biographies of significant mission leaders *within* The Story is useful.

²² R. Pierce Beaver, "The History of Mission Strategy," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009).

²³ Paul Pierson, "A History of Transformation," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009).

²⁴ Ruth Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, Zondervan, 2004).

Tips for the Journey: Signposts for Guidance and Pitfalls to Avoid

Guidelines for Shaping and Teaching Content

1. Attempt to take a “God’s eye” view of history—history as seen from above according to God’s purpose. Look for where God is at work within general history to forward His purposes. There are times in history when it seems that God has stepped into the affairs of man to alter the natural course of things enabling His purpose to be accomplished. And then there are other times when God uses the natural course of the affairs of man to further His purposes.
2. Remember that you are telling a story—The Story—of how God’s purpose is being fulfilled in time. The Perspectives course approaches history theologically. Tie events, people and movements together so students can see this grand metanarrative unfold. Continue The Story up to today, so students can see that *they* are in The Story and can be part of its completion.
3. Tell stories within The Story. Everyone loves a good story and history is full of them! Choose stories on the basis of how they contribute to the bigger Story. Discover interesting details in the story to make them come alive. Avoid just reciting a string of facts and dates—how boring! All of your stories may not be of believers; they may be of unbelievers, like Cyrus or Nebuchadnezzar in the Bible, whom God used to turn the tide of history for good or evil, but in the end served to accomplish His purpose.

4. Keep the Core Ideas in the forefront of your thinking when developing the Historical Section. These core ideas are integrated and should be reflected throughout the curriculum. They are the vision of the course.

5. Select historical figures that show significant development of The Story or significant development of mission strategy and tell their story. Tell the stories of cross-cultural missionaries, but also of local leaders or evangelists that played a pivotal role in Kingdom expansion, especially when telling your own local and regional history. The emphasis should be on those who pioneered new beachheads for the gospel. Mission historian, Wilbert Shenk observes,

One of the criticisms leveled at mission studies is that these studies have failed to acknowledge the extent to which all missionary work has been a team effort. The missionary has been dependent on the collaboration of indigenous evangelists, catechists, Bible women and lay workers. Yet mission studies have typically featured the missions and missionaries. This major imbalance must surely be acknowledged. The resulting interpretation has often been one-sided and seriously flawed. However, the missionary has been an actor in the drama of the modern mission movement. It simply will not do to react by writing the missionary out of the story. A balanced and honest approach is needed that accounts for all participants in the process.²⁵

6. In telling the story of great men and women who went before us, don't present them as super-heroes. Be honest about their shortcomings as fallen human beings, yet give them the honor they deserve for their service to the Master. Let people enter their lives and see their humanity, but also their significance. Let their faith in the midst of obstacles and sufferings encourage and inspire. Relate amazing or heartbreaking or

²⁵ Wilbert R. Shenk, ed., *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), xiv.

unusual antidotes. Relate their life story in a way that will call others to follow and believe God for their destiny too.

7. Note that some historical figures or church-planting movements may fit better in other chapters of the Perspectives curriculum as models of strategy, suffering, partnership, etc. Beware of being redundant.

8. As you translate portions of the English version of the Historical Section, be sure to provide your own local and regional history of how the gospel came to your people and has gone forth from your people. But don't treat your local history as a separate history; rather integrate your history into the whole global history. If possible use local writers, so that the History Section will reflect your culture and speak with your voice.

9. Be aware that your edition of the Perspectives curriculum may be translated and used by near-by neighbors. Develop it in such a way that it is easily adaptable in your area. For instance, tell more of your regional history, than just your local, particular history.

10. Determine how you will organize The Story. In organization you will want to keep it as a teleological narrative, with the timeline easy to follow and the events connected. You may choose to use sub-themes or motifs in the telling of The Story. You may choose to use a repeating grid or concept throughout. Organize The Story in the way one learns, comprehends and retains information in your culture. For example, Westerners learn by breaking the whole down into parts and using memory tactics such as repeating patterns, similarities and rhyming. Use the techniques that are best for your culture and that speak to the student's contemporary world.

11. Include significant and inspiring quotes from source material, especially quotes from pioneer missionaries and evangelists. Include photographs or drawings, if available. Most certainly include maps!

Common Mistakes to Avoid

1. Avoid stringing together the biographies of great missionaries. Such an approach does not communicate the telling of the continuation of God's Story to accomplish His great purpose. Perspectives is more *outcome-oriented* than *outreach-oriented*.²⁶ The focus is not so much on a history of what the missionaries did (outreach) in evangelizing, serving and planting churches. Rather the focus is on what the outcome for God was in terms of God being named and loved and worshipped among the peoples. What was the result of that people's relationship with God and with each other (transformation) after the missionaries were long gone?

2. Avoid concentrating on your own local, regional or national history to the exclusion or minimization of global history of the world Christian movement. This has been an historical Western error in the teaching of missions, i.e., presenting primarily the Western spread of the gospel, as if it were the whole story. But the same error could be replicated in any culture. Andrew Walls, in addressing the need to "re-vision" the presentation of Christian history says,

... it is taken for granted that the church historian's task in the contemporary situation is to present a vision of Christian history which reflects its position as a faith represented all over the world. . . . There will continue to be a need to take

²⁶ This definition is attributed to Steve Hawthorne, first articulated in a telephone conversation with the author, July 2004.

account of local relevance in the selection of themes and in judging what belongs to the foreground and what belongs to the background. But the consciousness that even one's own Christian history is part of a process which covers all six continents and occupies two millennia in itself is something we can legitimately call "re-visioning."²⁷

3. Avoid presenting a denominational history or focusing on your denomination/family of churches or even just your ecclesiastical stream within the Body of Christ. Avoid this approach even if your students are only from your branch of the church. Such an approach distorts the true family picture, produces narrow thinking and handicaps the unity of the Body of Christ. Andrew Walls again warns,

It is natural and right to seek to understand one's own tradition; it is the means to know who one's ancestors are. But there are lurking dangers, both historical and theological. One is that we think by study of our own tradition we are doing church history. We are not—we are doing *our* church history. If this is the only lens through which we study Christian history, we have bypassed the story of the whole people of God in favor of clan history. This reduces the area in which we look for the works of God, whereas the promises of God are to all who trust in them. The Lord of Hosts is not to be treated as a territorial Baal.²⁸

4. Avoid negative stereotypes or racial overtones. Due to the repressive era of colonialism, it is popular now, both in the non-West and in the West, to be anti-Western and avoid or ignore anything that hints at Western hegemony. Yet such an approach would distort the true picture of what God has done throughout history to accomplish His purposes, and it promotes disunity in the global Body of Christ. The fact remains that the gospel was carried to the ends of the earth by Western missionaries (but certainly not *only* by Western missionaries) *and* that during the colonial period many made the huge

²⁷ Andrew F. Walls, "Eusebius Tries Again," in *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 14.

²⁸ Walls, "Eusebius Tries Again," 7.

error of being too closely aligned with repressive colonial governments and carrying superior colonial or racist attitudes. We can honor God and them by recognizing the sacrifice they made to bring the gospel to foreign lands, while at the same time rejecting the cultural baggage they brought with them and learning from their mistakes. Philip Yeun-Sang Leung recounts his own journey in recovering Chinese Christian history:

... I have chronicled the shift of interest in recent years from “Christian missions” to “Chinese church,” and from the “Western-centric approaches” to “China-centered history.” While my own research experience epitomized such a shift in the field, I feel that the polemics developed in the culture-conscious and race-conscious new methodologies and theories are also sometimes divisive and too apologetic. The mission history and missions studies of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century were products of culture and expressions of the cultural mentalities of a previous generation. We should acknowledge their limitations as well as their contributions. The new Christian history should be written from a multi-centered view of the church in different countries and regions, and should focus more on the interactions and intersections of these “hyphenated Christianities,” such as “Chinese Christianity,” “Indian Christianity,” and “Western Christianity.”²⁹

5. Avoid using “conquest” language. Many peoples of the world already assume Christians (whom they often equate with “the West”) are aiming for world domination. Actually, telling the history of the Christian movement as the continuation of God’s grand Story is a powerful way to rebut the concept that “Christians are out to conquer us.” Also seek to avoid language that would be reminiscent of the days of colonial domination.

6. Avoid plagiarism. Failing to give proper credit to the words and sentences of others is easily recognized as plagiarism and avoided by most people. What is not as

²⁹ Philip Yeun-Sang Leung, “Mission History versus Church History,” in *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 74.

readily recognized is that failing to give proper attribution to the original author of specific ideas or schematics is also considered plagiarism.

7. Avoid treating the Historical Section as insignificant or thinking history is boring to most people therefore it should be shortened to the minimum. The Story of God's purpose being accomplished among the nations is incomplete without the Historical Section. The Story doesn't capture the hearts and imaginations of contemporary students without them seeing how God has been working for His purposes, not just in the Bible, but throughout all history up until the present day, and they are in The Story and have a role in completing the Story. The Historical Section should be long enough to do justice to The Story and in proportion to the rest of the curriculum.

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The development document included in the previous chapter, *Adapting the Historical Section for Non-American Contexts*, was distributed to thirty-five individuals at the bi-annual meeting of Perspectives course global developers in December 2011. Those thirty-five people represented twenty-three different languages or countries that have existing Perspectives programs, emerging Perspectives programs, or a strong interest in facilitating the development of Perspectives in their land.

Each person was asked to reflect on the document over the next month and give their feedback via a survey I provided. Responses were received from ten individuals representing nine locations and/or languages editions: Korea (Korean); Hong Kong (English and Chinese); Thailand (English and Thai); Philippines (English); Ethiopia (Amharic); Canada (English); Brazil (Portuguese); Costa Rica (English and Spanish) and the Ibero-American countries (Spanish).

This chapter will summarize and synthesize the responses received from the global course developers. Based on their evaluation I will consider changes that need to be made to the development document to enhance its usefulness. In the year 2004, discussions on adapting the Historical Section into global contexts began between Steve Hawthorne, one of the original Perspectives course developers, and me. In this chapter I will identify key lessons that have been learned over the past seven years about adapting the Perspectives course into global contexts. I will follow that with personal lessons I

have learned through the research and development of this thesis-project. In conclusion I highlight potential outcomes as a result of this work.

Evaluation by Global Perspectives Course Developers

An eleven-question survey was distributed to global Perspectives course developers to obtain an evaluation of the document I wrote entitled, *Adapting the Historical Section for Non-American Contexts*, hereafter referred to as the development document. Their feedback was requested in order that the document might be viewed through the eyes of those for whom it was intended and be improved in the process. Most of the feedback came from emerging programs, still in the process of being developed, although in many of those programs beta courses have been run in English. The leaders of two strong existing programs answered (Korea and Canada) and two hopeful individuals replied who are interested in seeing Perspectives in their region (Hong Kong and Thailand).

The survey was intentionally kept short enough to encourage busy people to answer, yet even so, I did not receive the percentage of response I had hoped for. The first part of the survey asked for specific feedback on the development document and the process of adaptation into their culture and language. The second half of the survey sought to identify what has been done or is planning to be done in terms of adaptation.

The majority of the respondents felt that the chapter in the development document entitled “Charting the Course” was by far the most helpful aspect of the entire document. As they affirmed, that chapter lays a critical foundation for developing or teaching the History Section as it charts the underlying philosophy, purpose and goals of the entire

course. The five competing views of history out of which metanarratives are drawn was found to be particularly instructive. It was suggested by more than one person that this chapter be made available on the Perspectives website, not only for course developers, but also as required reading for all who teach the Perspectives history lessons.

The second most valuable aspect of the development document as judged by the respondents was the chapter “Tips for the Journey.” This chapter was rated immensely practical as it contains both guidelines for developing and teaching the History Section as well as pitfalls to avoid. Again, it was suggested that this chapter be made available to Perspectives history instructors worldwide to steer them from falling in the ditches that we frequently witness in our classes.

Many of the emerging courses appreciated the “Getting Started” checklist for curriculum development. Particularly encouraging was that the most experienced international course developer, our director in Korea, praised this checklist as “wonderful.” He would know more than the others what it takes to develop and revise a curriculum. It is possible that he was expressing Asian politeness; however he also proffered constructive criticism in his feedback. The one respondent who has experience in writing articles on mission history found the chapter “Choosing the Route” to be “interesting and stimulating” because it provided models of how history has been conveyed by others. Three of the respondents indicated an intention or desire to write a mission history from their region that would be suitable for the Perspectives course.

When asked if there were any part of the development document that they would find conflicting or confusing in their culture, the respondents supplied insightful counsel. Primary among their responses was the need to include in the development document the

theme of learning from the missionary mistakes of the past. As would be expected, those outside the West are especially sensitive to the cultural offenses of the colonial past. Past missionary errors should not be glossed over, but studied as learning tools so that other cultures do not repeat them as they send their own missionaries. As the Hong Kong developer observed, “You are right to highlight the issue of East versus West, with all the baggage of colonialism, which is much deeper than you might imagine. If I simply use the North American articles there will be damaging skepticism amongst local participants.”

In a similar vein, course editor Steve Hawthorne commented that there is no need to hide the parts of the historical narrative that are dark and shameful. The mystery of God leaves unexplained how He could allow such events, even atrocities committed by those who bear His name. In the end God will triumph, but the history of Christianity is not triumphalistic. The people of God suffered and there are setbacks and reversals of the faith.

There was a heightened sense of dealing openly and honestly with the mistakes and offenses of Catholic missions in the Latin American countries. It is a tricky proposition. As one of our Brazilian developers indicated, Catholic mission is a huge part of their history, for good and ill, and needs to be presented as such, but the atmosphere of the Brazilian Protestant churches is largely anti-Catholic. I recall a Brazilian pastor enrolled in one of the Perspectives courses I coordinated in Nashville, Tennessee. He was immensely upset at one of our instructors for teaching positively about Jesuit mission strategies in China. His personal experience of being run out of town by Jesuits colored

his perspective and he could not see beyond it. This an extra challenge that the course developers south of the border will have to handle.

One of the Asian respondents warned about teaching Christian expansion history through the motif “Kingdom advance produces societal transformation.” He warns that this is not true everywhere all of the time and that in some countries such a motif would be hard to accept. The respondent from Thailand counseled that the linear nature of the biblical narrative is hard to understand in a Buddhist culture as the Buddhist mindset is cyclical and deterministic. The Thai church accepts the linear history as true, but finds the concept challenging.

The survey asked the veteran global developers if there were any other guidelines or mistakes to avoid they would add in the chapter “Tips for the Journey.” Besides some of the suggestions previously mentioned, it was proposed that another motif of telling the story should be added, that of expansion of the Christian faith through revivals and spiritual awakenings. It was also suggested that adhering to the Perspectives Core Ideas be made the first and most important guideline.

The survey requested additions to the “Suggested Reading List.” I had really hoped that many additional resources would be recommended. Unfortunately only a few were offered.

Lastly the survey asked two questions to assess the global developers’ felt and real needs in the adaptation process. The first question inquired, “What are the greatest obstacles you will have to overcome to pursue a fully-adapted History Section?” The second query was, “What are the greatest resources you need to fully adapt the History Section?” The answers to these two questions revealed that the greatest resources needed

are in fact the greatest obstacles to overcome. They can be categorized as time, personnel and appropriate literature.

Time is a significant issue. All of these global developers have busy ministries in addition to conducting Perspectives courses or crafting curriculum. The time needed to plan a curriculum, find and recruit the right personnel and evaluate and choose appropriate literature is demanding. It was recognized that choosing a development team that is conversant with Perspectives and subscribes to the Core Ideas is critical, in order, as one respondent cautioned, to avoid ideological battles. Beyond that the team needs to be gifted and available. Finding such individuals in countries where Perspectives has yet to be offered is a tall order.

Equally challenging, according to the respondents, is locating books and articles from an indigenous perspective on mission to and from their region that also aligns with the goals and purposes of the Perspectives course. In Latin America they especially find it difficult to locate books that are not too anti- or pro-Catholic or too anti- or pro-American. The Spanish curriculum development team presented a distinctive challenge: although the nations of Ibero-America are united in many ways in culture and history, they each retain their own unique mission history; how could that diversity be addressed in a singular Spanish edition?

Both the Portuguese and Spanish developers noted that the current North American Perspectives edition, which is used as the baseline for all international editions, gives very little attention to any portion of Latin America in the History Section. For this reason and more, one of the Brazilian developers insightfully commented, “If the Brazilian history were only contextualized at the class level through material presented in

class, then I believe there would be a feeling that their history was simply thrown on top of an American course. If the contextualization happens at the level of the *Reader* and *Study Guide*, then the perception would be that this is a more contextualized course and that their story is interwoven into the big picture.”

The second half of the survey sought to acquire specific information on how the Historical Section has been developed in established courses or envisions being developed in emerging courses. Most all of the developers have used or plan to use most of the articles in the North American edition and add country or region-specific articles. I asked the established courses to list which articles they used and what they added. Since some of these courses have not been back-translated, this helps us know what has been developed.

I asked all of the developers to identify which articles in the North American version they perceive to be of the greatest value in their context and which they judge to be of least value and explain why. I did not receive adequate response to these questions to evaluate effectively.

Concluding comments by some of the developers confirmed the strategic significance and usefulness of this development document for the Perspectives History Section. One of our newest developers who is just getting started stated, “I am grateful now to have a better grasp of the scale and scope of the development we need to do.” The directors of the team creating the Spanish-language curriculum currently in development commented, “We think that this document is one of the high priority materials that should be translated into Spanish as soon as possible as it would be extremely helpful for the Spanish-language project.” A leader of the emerging bi-lingual program in Costa Rica

sees the document as helping them train their instructors to organize better and more fully understand the purpose of the course. Our long-term leader of the established program in Canada, who happens to be Sri-Lankan in ethnicity and a respected global leader in his own right, offered these encouraging words, “You well know that you are tackling one of the most needed sections of the Perspectives course as we expand into other countries. Thank you for laying some tracks and guidelines. These are long overdue!”

Lessons Learned by Perspectives Leadership on Cultural Adaptation

As indicated earlier in this thesis-project, the Perspectives staff never pro-actively sought to extend the course outside of North America. As Perspectives alumni fanned out across the globe in missions and as citizens of other nations were exposed to the Perspectives textbook through Bible schools, seminaries or interactions with international believers, a growing demand for the course to be translated and offered in other lands pressured the U.S. Center for World Mission staff to respond. Yet until the last few years, there was no one who could devote their full attention to international efforts. As is often the case, enterprising individuals in far-flung places of the world took it upon themselves to make a translation or develop a course based, sometimes loosely, upon Perspectives articles and ideas. Unfortunately, these unknown courses were often equated with Perspectives, or even entitled “Perspectives.” As was the case in Australia and South Africa, sometimes two or three people were running differing courses all bearing the name and identity of Perspectives. This was the confusing mess in which the Perspectives Global Service Office was formed.

Honoring fundamental Perspectives concepts of contextualization and global respect and partnership, the Perspectives leadership struggled with how to respond to the growing popularity of the Perspectives course yet increasing loss of Perspectives identity. The Perspectives course is in demand precisely because it is a powerful paradigm-shifting, life-changing tool. Yet when is it copied and changed to the degree that it no longer carries the Perspectives core values and ideas and produces the same life-change? What about all the unauthorized versions of “Perspectives” out there? Who produced them? What do they teach? Where are they distributed? A copyright issue aside, is there a Perspectives identity that needs to be protected and preserved? Such were the issues being wrestled with by Perspectives leadership in the 1990s.

A process began to identify and define (1) what it is about Perspectives that creates a paradigm-shift and so deeply impacts lives and (2) the core theology and missiology of the course. This process resulted in the construction of sixteen Core Ideas of the Perspectives course. In order for a curriculum or course to be identified with the Perspectives course, it must carry many, if not all, of the Core Ideas and not contradict them. Such a course could be identified as a “Perspectives Family” course. But it was still unclear what constitutes a true Perspectives course in another language or context.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century some language editions were developed that seemed to fall short of being what a true Perspectives course should be. Freedom was given for a large degree of contextualization, yet it was difficult to determine without a back-translation exactly what was in those editions. As articles were translated back into English, it became clear that some articles were deficient or went in tangents away from the central focus of Perspectives. An even earlier attempt at a full-

blown contextualization and indigenization of the Perspectives text was tried in India. It was scrapped after only a few years by Indian and American leaders alike as defective and far-removed from what a Perspectives curriculum should be. These unfortunate endeavors convinced Perspectives leadership that the Perspectives course carries a certain level of expectation and therefore its identity should be preserved and protected. In order to accomplish that, a large degree of standardization is necessary. Once the Perspectives course went online becoming available to individuals anywhere in the world, the necessity of standardization became even clearer.

It also gradually became clear that the “whys” of the Perspectives material needed to be identified and communicated. A first attempt at doing this occurred during a two-week Perspectives Intensive course in the Philippines in 2009. Segments of time were allotted during the Filipino course for Steve Hawthorne to explain *why* Perspectives teaches certain concepts and biblical or missiological ideas. Attention was also given to how certain Perspectives concepts contrast with conventional viewpoints. The main points of each lesson were summarized and shown how they are integrated throughout the entire course. All of these discussions are in the process of being codified and communicated to Perspectives coordinators, instructors and developers. Additionally essential articles and key content of the curriculum are being identified for each Perspectives lesson. This will be the core from which the international developers adapt and shape content for their particular context.

Pioneering courses in several countries over the past few years has revealed some effective methodologies for introducing Perspectives into a new area. One of the most effective methodologies is to run a seven-to-ten day Intensive course in English for

national church and mission leadership. Perspectives leadership comes in from outside of the country to teach the course. The purpose of such Intensive courses is to introduce the course and material to those individuals who will later serve as facilitators, instructors, promoters and an advisory board. Out of such Intensive classes a development team is often formed. Intensive courses might need to be conducted more than once to build up a national Perspectives leadership. Once a development team is in place, work can begin on translation and adaptation.

Early on we encouraged as much adaptation as possible for the new language edition. Most global developers, however, shied away from much more than a straight translation from the English (with a few adjustments). It was a difficult enough mountain to climb just to accomplish a translation. The few language editions that pursued a large degree of contextualization ended up be less than desired, as previously noted. Past experience has proven how ineffective it is to attempt to contextualize the course without there being a community of people who are well-acquainted with the entire course and have internalized the content. There is so much that is non-conventional in the course that unless one has worked through the content several times, we have seen that it is difficult to expect anyone, even those who are highly-trained, to develop a course that brings about the paradigm shift expected of a Perspectives program.

The methodology that seems most practical and desirable now is to begin with a translation of the North American text, with possibly an indigenous article or two substituted or added in, especially in the Historical Section. As the course becomes established in the country, the material is tested in its environment, suitable authors and

instructors are trained in Perspectives and a community arises within which Perspectives lives, greater adaptation can be pursued.

Perspectives is still young in its global extension. Much more will be learned as the course develops in many more languages and matures in others. Discussion continues as to what exactly makes for a “true” Perspectives course and what degree of standardization is needed to preserve a Perspectives identity and accomplish the purposes and goals of the course. There is no doubt that the course will be enriched as an increasing number of other cultures and languages speak into course development and implementation.

Personal Lessons Learned Working on this Project

Preparing an annotated bibliography covering every region of the world was both arduous and fascinating. I have gained a general working knowledge of the expansion of the Christian faith throughout history as it ebbed and flowed (to use Latourette’s imagery) across the globe. This knowledge will be beneficial as I continue to aid Perspectives global leadership in developing the History Section. Beyond that, however, such exposure to God’s continuous acts in history to be known and worshipped by all peoples stimulates a greater awe of God and His faithfulness and love.

My research has made me aware of a new historiography on the rise in the writing and teaching of church and mission history. Andrew Walls’ writings and the volume that Wilbert Shenk contributed to and edited, *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, laid the foundation for this awareness, enlarging my perspective on how a global mission history should be presented. Traditional Christian mission

historiography reflects the environment out of which it emerged: Eurocentric; hegemonic; colonialistic and institutionally understood. Traditional mission historiography records what the Western missionary thought and did and the successes or failures from a Western viewpoint. The indigenous actors who were the real backbone of evangelization of their lands—native evangelists, catechists, colporteurs, Bible women, ordinary laymen—are absent or nameless in the narratives. The image that results is of a passive receptor culture. The African or the Indian or the Asian becomes the object rather than the subject of such history. This is the history that has been given the non-Western church as their own church history; it has left them searching for an authentic identity and connection between their pre-Christian roots and present existence.

Traditional mission historiography also minimizes or ignores altogether the socio-economic, political and religious context into which the missionary entered. When the gospel intersected a new culture, the interactions between gospel and culture went both ways. The new converts were not entering Christianity in a vacuum; motives beyond the power of the gospel itself influenced conversion and those new converts brought worldviews and assumptions and cultural expressions with them into their new faith, changing the nature of the Christian faith itself. In turn, the message of the gospel and the activities of missionaries transformed the culture and society of the receptors. African writers particularly mention the role of linguistics and Bible translation into mother tongue languages as instrumental in later national independence movements and societal developments. As Christianity was assimilated into the local culture, it became less and less a “foreign religion” and increasingly part of the warp and woof of society. As Lamin Sanneh observes, “I think the old historiography erred and undersold the subject by

focusing almost entirely on the originating impulses of missions and world Christianity, and overlooking the vast terrain of the local effects and feedback.”¹ By recording only what the Western missionary did and not the context into which the gospel and the foreigner came and the ongoing effect both had on the culture, the account of mission history is distorted and the whole global church is impoverished through its absence.

Other historians have pointed out the need to also record the socio-economic and political environment out of which the carriers of the gospel emerge. The motives, message and strategies of the missionaries were influenced by their national and religious environment. This is also important for understanding what took place on the mission field.

Until recently, the bulk of mission history was either denominational or biographical in nature. This reflected the institutionalization of Western Christianity and the intended readership of the literature. The biographical literature was quite often hagiographic, portraying the missionaries as heroes or martyrs because of the sacrifices they made to live in dangerous and uncivilized environments. Although the historical facts were in the whole accurate (albeit from a Western point of view), the intent of the missionary biography was to promote interest and support from the home base. Once again, the resultant historical image is one-sided and distorted.

A new historiography began to emerge in the middle of the twentieth century with the collapse of colonialism and clamor for political and cultural independence. A longing

¹ Lamin Sanneh, "World Christianity and the New Historiography," in *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 106.

and earnestness for identity prompted a historical search for both ancient roots and for the role of indigenous agents of change during the colonial period. As oral and written records came to light and local historians were trained and engaged, a new history emerged, what some have called a “history from the underside.”² The history of missions has been connected to the history of the church as conceptualized by the local culture. These local histories are their history, not what an outsider has said or written about them or done for or to them. Except for the reactionist and revisionist histories that are polemical and anti-Western in nature, the mission histories written in the manner of the new historiography have balanced out the historical accounts and are enriching the knowledge of the fullness of God’s activity in the world.

This new historiography could take a postmodern approach, minimizing any grand metanarrative and considering local ethno-histories of ultimate importance. This would be in contradiction to the philosophy undergirding the Perspectives course. The grand metanarrative that Perspectives affirms is not a totalizing dominant narrative that tramples upon local histories. Rather it is the narrative of God at work within history to bring His kingdom rule within peoples in such a way that brings glory to God, blessing to peoples and in which all ethno-histories are fulfilled.

As I conducted bibliographic research, I increasingly became sensitive to the approach of the historian. I began to see more clearly those authors who were writing from the old historiographical approach and how that would be disheartening and inadequate for non-Western readers. I noticed how the approach of many historians

² Sanneh, “New Historiography,” 106.

began to change from the last decade of the twentieth century onward. I also noticed how many works were emerging from non-Western historians beginning around the same timeframe. This is encouraging! The possibilities are bright for the future of global mission history studies, especially as the global church begins to share their stories with one another. The Church will be enriched and God more glorified for His works in history.

Potential Outcomes

I envision a few immediate and a few longer-term outcomes as a result of this project. First I need to take the feedback received from the global course developers and adjust the development document accordingly. If the rest of the Perspectives Global Service Office is satisfied with the development document being posted on the website designed for global course developers, I need to see that it is posted right away. The Spanish language development team has requested permission to translate the entire document into Spanish as soon as possible. We need to encourage the translation into other languages currently under development as well.

The chapters in the development document entitled “Charting the Course” and “Tips for the Journey” should be put on the U.S. Perspectives website to provide guidance for course coordinators and history instructors. The “Charting the Course” chapter will help both coordinators and instructors more clearly understand the distinctives of the Perspectives course so as to more fully enhance and align with Perspectives Core Ideas in their instruction. The “Tips for the Journey” chapter will help the instructors teaching the Historical Section to organize and stay on course. In the

Perspectives program, coordinators and instructors are mostly volunteers and therefore the level of instruction and understanding can vary widely. We need to raise the level of effectiveness and consistency across the board. I have already communicated some of the points in these two chapters of the development document via short video clips that have been posted on the instructors section of the Perspectives website.

Longer-term potential outcomes concern the actual development of the Historical Sections of various international courses. If it is deemed helpful, I could survey English-language resources for specific regions for articles that reflect the new historiography and are in-line with Perspectives philosophy. Of course, the best books and articles may well be written in their language, but the feedback I have received is that such resources are difficult to find and they have limited personnel and time for such research. I could serve the development team by giving them a jump start with at least an English language resource that can be translated. I could begin with the Spanish language project to see if this is a helpful venture and an effective use of my time.

The North American Perspectives edition is revised about every ten years. I envision a Historical Section that is more globally balanced with contributions from a variety of cultures which could be used in all global versions. One or two articles could be geared toward the North American audience containing the history of missions to and from the continent. Those articles would serve as a place-holder for other language versions to insert analogous articles about their region.

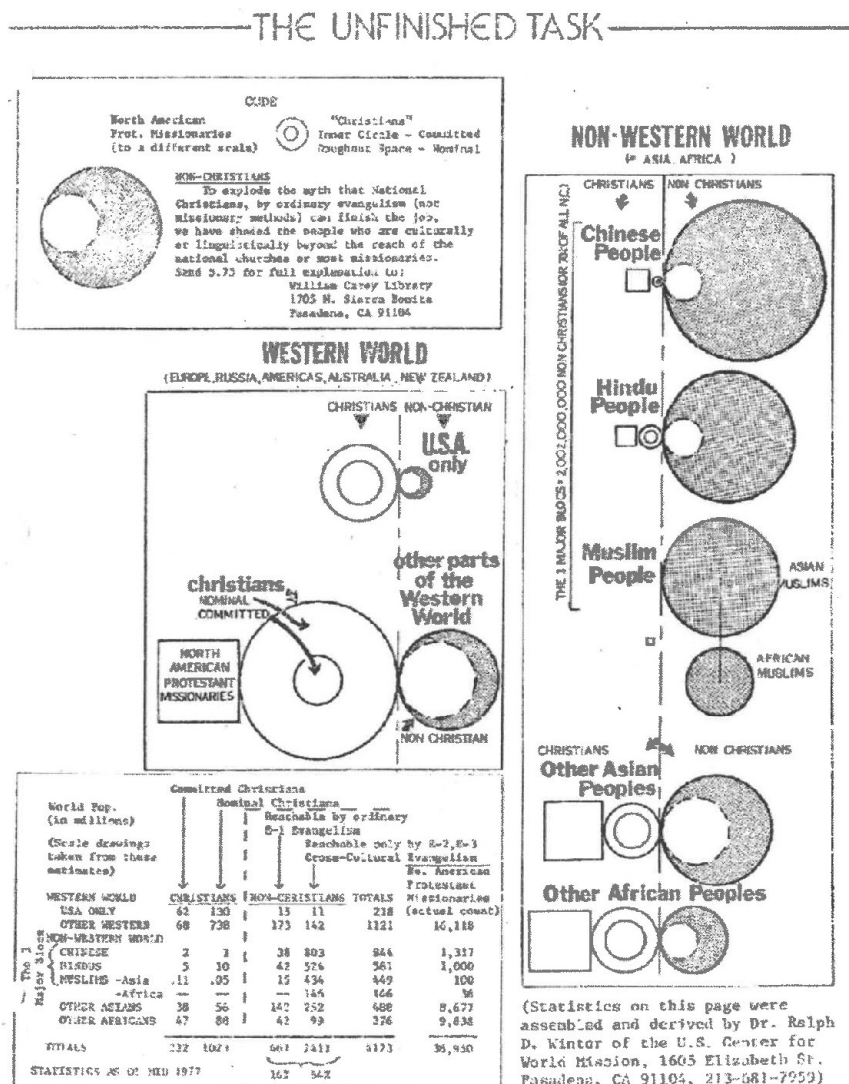
A new article needs to be written that would cover the broad sweep of the historical expansion of the Christian faith in all parts of the globe from the beginnings in Jerusalem until the beginning of the modern mission era. Currently the Perspectives

course has one article that covers the westward spread of the gospel and another article that covers the eastward expansion. It would be an improvement to see the whole historical story integrated. The challenge would be keeping the article a suitable length while still keeping it interesting and engaging. Another challenge is periodization; how should the whole be broken down to be comprehensible and memorable? As with any history, the choice regarding what facts and stories to include and what to omit is baffling. Writing an article that would contribute to the life-changing paradigm shift that Perspectives is known for would possibly be the greatest challenge of all.

Work on this thesis-project, from researching and documenting the history of the Perspectives course itself to researching the history of the global reach of the gospel to hearing reports about the wonderful results Perspectives is having in other cultures, has reinforced to me how anointed and effective the Perspectives course is as a mission mobilization tool. I feel honored and blessed to have worked with the course over the past twenty years and hopefully for many more years to come.

APPENDIX A

GRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE UNFINISHED TASK



Source: Ralph D. Winter, "The Grounds for a New Thrust in World Mission," in *Crucial Dimensions in World Evangelization*, ed. Arthur F. Glasser, Paul G. Hiebert, C. Peter Wagner and Ralph D. Winter (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), 9-10.

APPENDIX B

PERSPECTIVES CORE IDEAS

1. God initiates and advances work in history to accomplish His purpose.
2. God calls His people to join Him in fulfilling His purpose.
3. God's purpose is to bless all peoples so that Christ will be served and glorified among all peoples.
4. God accomplishes His purpose by triumphing over evil in order to rescue and bless people and to establish His kingdom rule throughout the earth.
5. The Bible is a unified story of God's purpose.
6. God's work in history has continuity and will come to an ultimate culmination.
7. The Christian movement has brought about positive social transformation.
8. The mission task can and will be completed.
9. The world's population can be viewed in terms of people groups.
10. The progress of world evangelization can be assessed in terms of church-planting movements within people groups.
11. Completing the mission task requires the initiation and growth of church-planting movements that follow social avenues of influence.
12. Completing the task requires effective cross-cultural evangelism that follows communication patterns within cultures.
13. Completing the task requires strategic wholism in which community development is integrated with church planting.
14. Completing the task requires collaborative efforts of churches and mission agencies from diverse cultures and traditions.
15. God calls His people to expect strategic sacrifice and suffering with Christ in order to accomplish His global purpose.
16. By participating in the world Christian movement, every believer can find a way to live with vital, strategic significance in God's global purpose.

Source: Steven C. Hawthorne, *Perspectives Developer Manual* (Pasadena, CA: Institute of International Studies, 2003), 44.

APPENDIX C

TITLE PAGE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE FIRST EDITION (1981)
PERSPECTIVES READER

PERSPECTIVES
ON THE
WORLD
CHRISTIAN
MOVEMENT
A Reader

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PERSPECTIVES

ON THE WORLD CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

A Reader

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